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ULSTER JOURNAL

OF

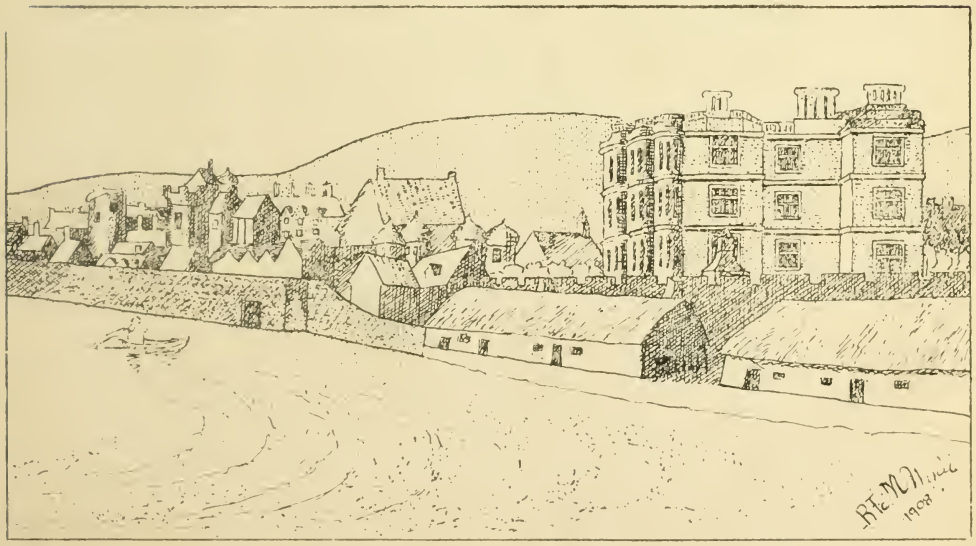
ARCHÆOLOGY.

VOL. XV. MAY, 1909. No. 2.

The Franciscan Friary at Carrig-fergus.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

IT almost seems incredible that this noble house, the chief of the many Franciscan houses in Ulster, should have been so utterly effaced. Church and tower, chapter house and dormitory, refectory and guest chambers, mill and stores have all disappeared and passed away as completely as the brown habited friars who for centuries laboured and prayed within the sacred walls. Irish chieftains could found and build nave and choir and adorn them



MOUNTJOY, CARRICKFERGUS, BUILT BY SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER, ON THE SITE OF THE FRIARY.

(From U.J.A., vol. vii., p. 9, old series.)

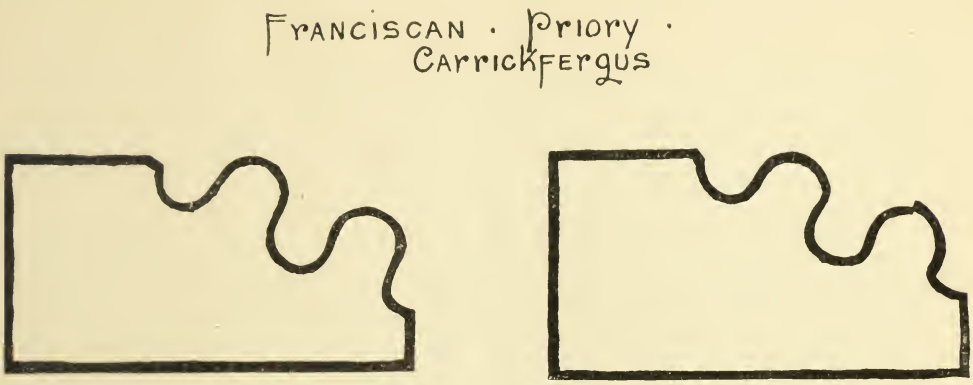
with windows of artistic beauty and varying effect, Normans could enlarge and strengthen and carve sumptuous tombs, lavishing a wider taste in fresco and jewelled shrine until every feature was beautiful and useful and seemed as if to last for many ages. But such was not to be the case. With the advent of Elizabeth's soldiers plunder was more in evidence than piety, and stores more serviceable than sanctuaries. And so it was that Essex turned the friary into "queen's stores," to serve her armies in the frequent forays and marauding expeditions to capture the trade and acquire the territories of the Ulster chieftains. De Courci, de Laci and their successors had saved and guarded the friary whenever they were in power, although at first it was outside the walls of Carrickfergus, and of course its founders, the O'Neills, ever loved and succoured it. To them it had been a great privilege, its services pleased them, and its walls afforded them shelter for their tombs in a district much harried by invaders in every age.

Then came Arthur Chichester, that prince of robbers and plunderers, and he obtained a "grant" of the place and set about rearing his "very statelye house" on the site of tomb and altar and quiet cloister. Such a palace pleased the wandering Jacobean tourists who favoured us with their visits and remarks. Like everything else that Chichester ever planned or tried to bring about, destruction speedily fell upon it. His fame was reared on ruin, destruction, devastation, and woe, and the harvest given to him and his successors must needs be the same as the seed sown. Mountjoy house and its "faire dineing room" speedily mouldered to the ground. A great county jail and courthouse appropriately succeeded the spacious halls of Chichester, and these now by the militia quarters. It is said the friars, when driven by force from the home they had loved so dearly and had built so beautifully, had put a prophetic curse upon the place, saying it would ever be an abode of thieves. The following is the different uses to which the old place was put:—

1st.—A store house for Elizabeth's troops.
2nd.—A residence for Chichester.
3rd.—A county jail.
4th.—A militia barracks.

Some years ago the jail, which was built about 1790, was largely pulled down and the courthouse altered to suit its present purpose. Little or nothing of the remains of the friary was observed, not one stone was to be found, so complete was its destruction. Some of the stone window mullions of Chichester's house came to light in the building of an adjoining house—that was all. There must have been many abbey stones with tracings of former carving used in the subsequent buildings, but these were not observed by the workmen. A month or so ago Henry MacNeill, of

Carleoil, asked me to view some stones built into his house from the old jail. Many of them bore initials and dates and idle cuttings such as soldiers, guards, or poor prisoners would cut on the walls during dreary days and nights. Two deeply moulded stones, however, at once arrested



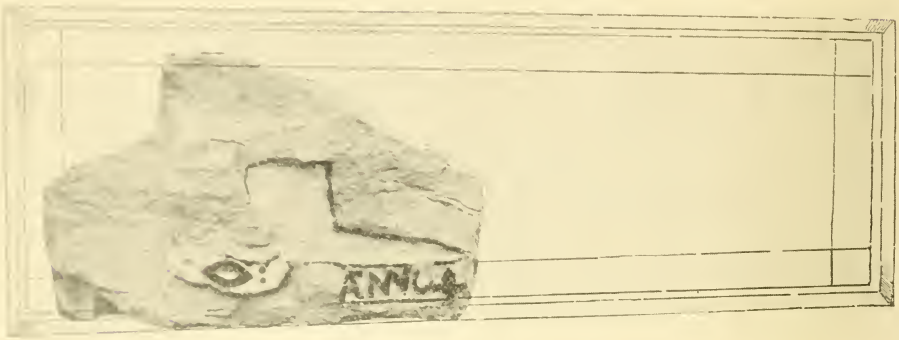
CARVED MOULDINGS.

(Drawn by W. J. Fennell.)

my attention. They were undoubtedly from the friary. They had been used in later buildings. Perhaps they had been built into the walls of Chichester's room, and had heard his midnight plottings and the rubbing of his hard hands as "grant" after "grant" of chieftains' or church lands came to his capacious wallet. Perhaps they had been built into the walls of William Orr's prison cell, and had heard his tale of treachery and double dealing. Be this as it may, here they were in the open light of day with the crisp chisel markings fresh upon them as if for present use. It is said a surgeon can construct the appearance of a man from the bones of a hand. These few stones give us the age and appearance of the old Franciscan friary of Carrickfergus. The mouldings are of the best, deep cut, graceful, and yet substantial, dating from about the end of the fourteenth century. They clearly denote a building built in the best taste. They are here illustrated.

Another stone of a different use, now preserved by Walter Caruth, of Carrickfergus, is here depicted. It was portion of a small square cusped window of a lovely shape, doubtless from some of the conventual apartments. It was found in the taking down of an old house adjoining the friary. It had been turned down and used as a door block, with the cuttings for that purpose still upon it. The rarest of all these stones is in the same careful hands. It was rescued from a cart taking away the rubbish from the jail at its destruction. It is merely a fragment of a

grave slab cut in fine slate. On it appears the letters ANNO, a *fleur de lys*, and portion of a belt buckle or some similar knightly decoration. What destruction was here? This may have been the identical grave slab of de Laci himself. Why not? It is cotemporary with him in appearance. To be rescued from a rubbish cart in our own day! This monument and many others could have been saved by Chichester if he had raised his



FRAGMENT OF 13TH CENTURY GRAVE SLAB FROM THE FRIARY.
(Photo by R. Welch, and drawing by W. J. Fennell.)

finger, but he seems to be as keenly bent on their destruction as he was on that of the Ulster chieftains. The lordly tombs of the O'Neills and the de Lacis to be built into his scullery walls, and the descendants of these O'Neills driven over the seas, and a "statelye pallace" built on their graves, and a royal grant of their lands in his strong room. In the old Journal (vol. vii., page 1) there is given a double view of the friary—one in its glory, and one when reduced to "queen's stores." These are here reproduced, also a view of Chichester's house from an old map, and a view of the courthouse as it appeared at the time of William Orr's imprisonment in 1797, which is similar to its present appearance.

By some it is said the friary was founded by de Laci, who was buried in it in 1243, but I believe it was an O'Neill foundation. They were the particular patrons of the Franciscans in Ulster, and this friary was their favourite burial-place, and it was reformed in 1457 by Niall MacArdle O'Neill. In de Laci's time, and for long after, it was outside the walls of Carrickfergus. He may have endowed or enlarged it, and was friendly to it, but the O'Neills for centuries were its chief benefactors, and within its walls many of the O'Neills found burial. It was a favourite place of interment with them, as Hugh MacNeill oge quaintly puts it in a petition to Edward VI. for restitution of his lands, "that his ancestors were buried there, and that in all his country there is not so meet a place for burial as that is." O'Neill

AFTER THE TRIAL OF WILLIAM ORR—THE COURT HOUSE AT CARRICKFERGUS, 18TH SEPTEMBER, 1797.

(From a photo by William Swanston and drawing by Joseph W. Carey.)

much desired the old friary, not like Chichester to build a "daintie pallace" upon the altars and burial places of Ulster chieftains for over four hundred years, but "to place two secular priests there for ministration of divine service."

FRANCISCAN CHALICE, FROM CARRICK-FERGUS.

The sacred vessels and other valuables of the friary were probably sold and melted down or destroyed by the reformers, but there is still one preserved dating from 1632, with the name Paul O'Neill upon it, proving that the O'Neills still had a love for the site of their old friary of Carrig-Fergus. This chalice is valued and preserved by the rev. James Dempsey, of Downpatrick. It should be returned to the place of its first presentation.

The inscription on the chalice is: "*Fr. Paulus O'Neill curavit pro conventu Carfergus fieri 1632.*" There are no hall marks upon it.

There was a fr. Paul O'Neill in Drumnaquoil in 1670, and a fr. Paul O'Neill was confined in Carrickfergus in 1679.

In Theiner's collection under the year 1317, there is a petition from the guardian and brethren of the friars minor of Cragfergus about the body of one Thomas de Mandeville, who had been killed at Carrickfergus, and his burial being hindered by his enemies, who would not allow the body to be brought to the parish church of Carrickfergus. He was at length buried, by permission of the bishop, in the church of the friars minor at Carrickfergus, as it was nearer to the spot where he had been killed. After some time two Dominican friars, William Aubrey and Florence de Ardin, by order of their prior, came from Drogheda and exhumed the body, brought it to Drogheda, and buried it in their own convent there. The pope in answer to the petition of the friars of Carrickfergus names the prior of Ardee, the dean of Armagh, and the prothonotary of Armagh to enquire into the case and decide according to the merits (pope Gregory XXII., A.D. 1317).

Prendergast in his *Cromwellian Settlement* (p. 323) relates a peculiarly sad story dealing with Carrig Fergus. In 1656, Cromwell made a particularly violent onslaught on the catholic priests still remaining in Ireland. An edict

went forth that the justices should arrest all priests in Ireland. The jails everywhere were full. The governors were ordered to send them from garrison to garrison to Carrickfergus, to be there put on board ship for the Barbadoes "as they may not return again." One Paul Cashin, a very aged priest, apprehended at Maryborough, fell desperately sick and was like to die. He was allowed 6d. a day during his sickness, but to Carrig he must go and thence to the Barbadoes. Captain Cooper reported that several would renounce the pope's supremacy and frequent protestant meetings if they were spared transportation. It cannot well be considered the horrors which were endured—

"Oh, black and bitter curse of Cromwell"—

before this state of mind was brought about. Thousands of young Irish girls had been kidnapped by Cromwell's orders, and shipped, many from Carrig-Fergus, to the West Indies, and there sold as slaves and worse to the planters. Boys were also treated similarly, so the old streets of Carrig-Fergus must many a time have resounded with grief and lamentation. War has its horrors God knows, but this was far and away beyond the ordinary usages of warfare. The friars' house was a "daintie pallace," with grim faces and scowling looks at the windows, as the mere Irish were hurried from their native land with no one to lend any succour, no guest-house to shelter them, ere the ships of Bristol bore them away across the ocean to unspeakable horrors for any Irish maid.

The following extracts I have culled from the old Journal, vol. vii., Reeves' *Antiquities*, and O'Laverty's *Down and Connor*. Other authorities are noted.

In 1232, a monastery of Franciscan, or Grey friars, was founded here, but it is rather uncertain who was the founder, though the merit is commonly ascribed to Hugh de Laci, earl of Ulster.[1]

1243. The earl of Ulster, Gerald Fitz-Maurice, and Richard de Burgo "ended the way of all flesh," and were interred in this monastery.

1408. Hugh MacAdam MacGilmore, an Irish chieftain, who, they say, was never christened, and hence "was called CORBI," who had "caused forty churches to be destroyed," took refuge in an oratory of this abbey, where he was slain by some of the family of Savage. MacGilmore had previously slain "Patrick Savage, a gentleman of great esteem in Ulster," and also his brother Richard, although he had received 2,000 marks for their ransom. It is stated that MacGilmore had before taken the iron bars off the windows of this oratory, through which his enemies entered when they slew him.

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[1] Ware's Antiquities. Archdall's Monasticon. Though we are without any record of religious houses being here before the above time, yet there must have been such, as "W., prior of Cragfergus," is a subscribing witness to a charter granted by sir John de Courcy, to the abbey of canons regular, Downpatrick, about A.D. 1183.—ARCHDALL'S MONASTICON.

1497 Neile MacCaine O'Neill reformed this friary to the order of the "STRICT OBSERVANCE."

1513. This monastery was in such repute, that a general chapter of the order was held in it.[1] After the suppression of monastic houses, this building, with its appurtenances, six acres of land adjoining, remained for some years in the possession of the crown till granted by Edward vi. in 1552 to Hugh MacNeill oge, of Clandeboy.[2]

In 1592, we find this corporation granting a lease of the abbey and its lands to Christopher Carleisle, governor of this town, and seneschal of the Clandeboys. A plot of ground adjacent was also granted to him, same time, for the purpose of erecting a corn mill; for the whole he was to pay ten shillings yearly. This deed expresses, that said abbey (then called the palace) was in the possession of Carleisle, and that some of its turrets were "fallen, damaged, and ruineated." Four of the witnesses make their mark, one of whom is Alexander Haynes, sheriff.[3] Soon after this we find this abbey and its lands in possession of sir Edmond Fitzgerald, who assigned them to sir Arthur Chichester.[4] About the same time it was granted by the crown to sir Charles Wilmot, knt.; its lands are then called four acres, with mills adjoining.[5] It is, however, believed to have been still retained by sir Arthur Chichester, as he soon after obtained a grant in his own name from James i.[6] Oral tradition states, that when the monks were obliged to go hence, they fervently prayed that the place might be ever after the HABITATION OF THIEVES. If such was their prayer, it has of late years been granted in a very remarkable manner, as on its site is built the present county of Antrim gaol.

FRANCISCAN ABBEY, CARRICKFERGUS, BEFORE THE DISSOLUTION.
(From U.J.A., vol. vii., old series.)

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[1] Marlebrough's Chronicle. Archdall's Monasticon. Cox's History of Ireland.
[2] Ware's Annals. Archdall's Monasticon.
[3] Records of Carrickfergus.
[4] Archdall's Monasticon.
[5] Lodge's Collections.
[6] Grants 19th James i. to sir Arthur Chichester.

CARRICKFERGUS,[1] on the remarkable bay of the same name, is a corporate town sending members to Parliament.

1232. The foundation of a monastery here, for Franciscan friars, is fixed on this year, but is a matter of doubt who was the founder; some say the famous Hugh de Lacie, earl of Ulster (*a*), according to others O'Neal (*b*). We are inclined to the former.

1243. This year the earl of Ulster,[2] and Gerald Fitzmaurice, and Richard de Burgh were interred here (*c*).

1408. Hugh MacAdam MacGilmore, the fell destroyer of forty sacred edifices, fled for refuge to an oratory of this church, in which he was soon after massacred by the English colony of the name of Savage. As the windows of this building had been formerly robbed of their iron bars by his sacrilegious hands, his pursuers found a ready admission to him (*d*).

1497. Neile MacCaine O'Neill reformed this friary[3] to the order of the strict observance (*e*).

(*a*) War. Mon. (*b*) Allemande. (*c*) Pembridge's Ann. Hanmer's Chron.

[1] McSkimin, in "Hist. Carrickfergus," mentions an ancient monastic foundation called "the Hospital of st. Brigid," which adjoined the east suburb of the town. "Some remains of the chapel (he adds) attached to this hospital remained within the last forty years, and persons were interred in it within memory. The lands adjoining are still called the SPITTALL PARKS, and were, till the year 1823, free of tythe. There is no record when this hospital was founded or by whom. In the 36th year of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, this hospital and the lands attached were granted by the crown to Richard Harding for thirty years. Some silver coins have been found here of Edward the Third," p. 127. The same writer tells us that there is also, a little north of the town, a well, called "st. Bride's well," adjoining which was "the Spittall House," and which was granted, together with the hospital, to Mr. Harding as above. In the deed of grant it is called "parcell antique hereditament," and is said to comprise a small plot called "The Friar's Garden," ib. 128.

A round tower is supposed to have formerly adorned this town. A survey in State Papers, 21st July, 1588, mentions "a watchhouse, or turret, sometimes called a steeple," as then standing in need of repairs. An old map of the town, published in "Ulster Journal of Arch., old ser.," vol. 3, presents a building close to the wall next the sea which may perhaps have been intended to represent a round tower.

[2] Hugh de Lacy was interred in 1243, "APUD CNOCKFERGUS IN CONVENTU FRATRUM." —"Grace's Annals." Publications of I.A.S., 1842, p. 35. A long account of the doings of Robert and Edward Bruce before Carrickfergus will be found in the same annals. We may add that the town sustained other memorable sieges from king John, Sean O'Neill, and Schomberg. The English troops under sir John Chichester sustained a memorable defeat here in 1597.

(*d*) Marlboro's Annals. (*e*) War. Mss.

[3] The following entry occurs in the "Annals of the Four Masters," at the year 1497: "The monastery of the friars in Carrickfergus were obtained for the Friars Minor de Observantia by rescript from Rome, at the instance of Niall, the son of Con, son of Hugh buidhe O'Neill, and sixteen brothers of the convent of Donegal took possession of it on the vigil of the first festival of the B. V. Mary in autumn, having obtained authority for that purpose." O'Conor, in his "Stowe Catalogue," vol. i., p. 158, mentions as extant in that

1510. This monastery was in such high repute, that a general chapter of the order was held in it this year (*f*).

At the suppression of religious houses this monastery and its possessions were granted to sir Edmund Fitzgerald, who assigned the same to sir Arthur Chichester, predecessor to the earl of Donegall (*g*). This nobleman, who was several times lord deputy of Ireland, erected a noble castle on the site of this monastery, about the year 1610 (*h*).

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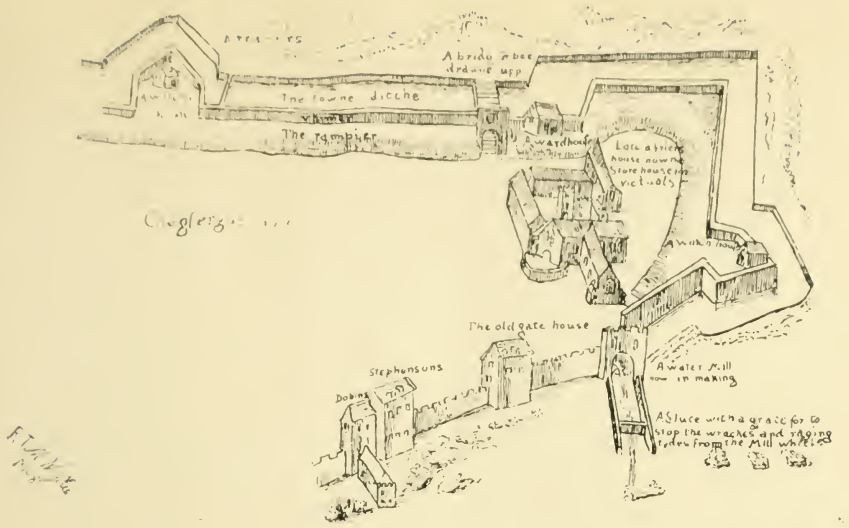
library a MS. of 52 pages in the Irish language, containing the lives of sixteen saints, with the subscription at the end: "Fr. Bonaventura Mac Dool, guardianus de Carrickfergus, theologiæ lector." These lives were transcribed from a more ancient MS. belonging to this convent.

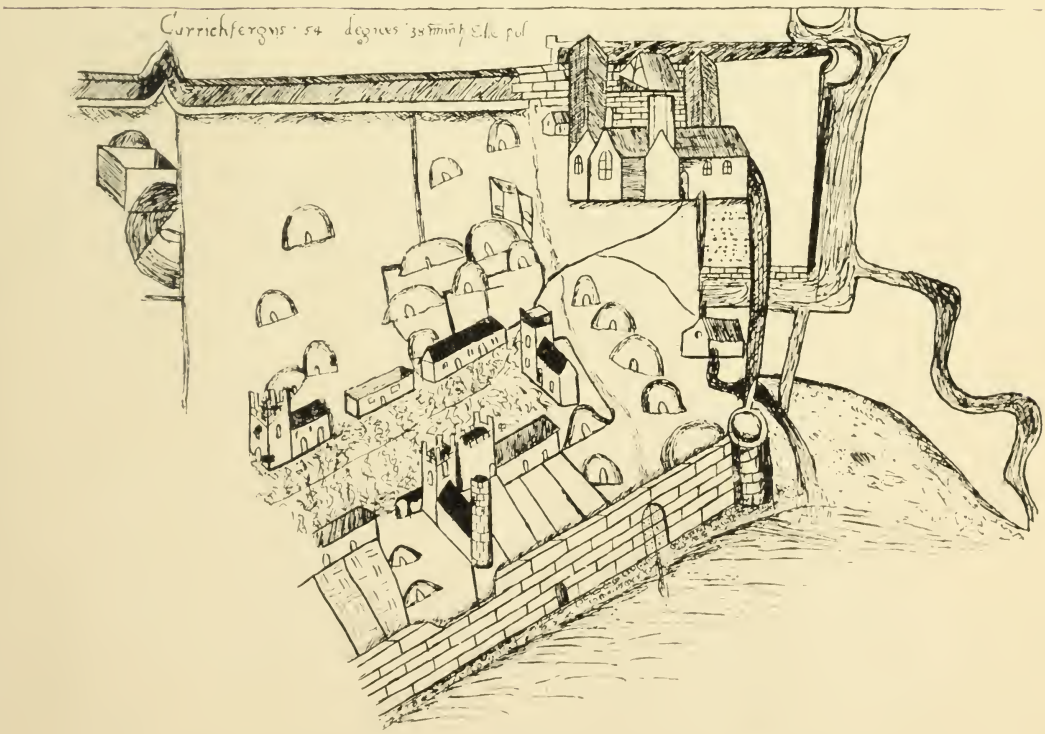
As regards the first founder of this Franciscan convent, some have referred it to De Laci, others to a chieftain of the MAGENNIS family; but Luke Wadding assigns the honour of its foundation to an O'Neill of the Clan-Aodh-Buidhe branch of that family, for, he adds, "that convent belonged to the O'Neills, and they used it as their burial place" (Annales Min. ad an. 1242). Hugh de Lacy, as we have seen, and also Richard de Burgh and Gerald Fitzmaurice, were interred there soon after its foundation.

The Franciscans of Carrickfergus seemed to have shared the suppression of religious houses of 1537, for among the state papers of Edward the sixth's reign, there is a petition of Hugh MacNeill oge, in which, after professing his allegiance as a faithful subject, he prays, "to have, by a lease from the king's majesty, certain late monasteries, with the lands thereunto belonging, lying waste in his country, and the late friar-house in Knockfergus granted unto him, that therein he may place two secular priests for ministration of divine service, alledging that his ancestors were buried there, and that in all his country there is not so meet a place for burial as that is." This petition was granted, but it is probable that O'Neill at once restored the convent to its old proprietors. In the Harleian collection of MSS., there is a petition from the "Freres Observants" of Ireland to queen Mary, dated November, 1557, in which they pray, that "it would please her majesty to grant and confirm unto them and their religious order" certain monasteries. In reply, her majesty instructed the lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, to grant their petition to them. During Elizabeth's reign, however, this convent felt the full fury of the storm of irreligious persecution which raged throughout our island. Wadding tells us that the religious inmates were expelled, and the English governor, after seizing on all the sacred properties of the convent, cast five of the friars into prison, keeping them there till all hope of further plunder was extinguished. The names of these confessors of the faith are happily registered by the same illustrious annalist; they are—Robert MacConghaill, Eugene Mac-an-Tsaire, Donough Molan, Charles O'Hanvill, and Patrick Mac Teige.

In the state papers of the following years, the convent appears as "THE PALACE, of late THE FRIARS' HOUSE." In a paper, dated 1st April, 1574, the memorable year in which Essex set out on his fruitless attempt to conquer Ulster, the convent is mentioned as a storehouse for the English troops. As one of the results of Essex's failure, it is also stated, that the town of Carrickfergus was destroyed, all its churches and dwellings being burned, and all its inhabitants having fled away. In 1583, the lords justices, in a letter to Walsingham, write, "The palace is a place very necessary to be safely kept, having in it the fairest and largest rooms for storage and brewing that are in this land, besides sundry good lodgings."

The palace, soon after the accession of king James, became the property of the greedy and grasping Chichester, who levelled it to the ground, and erected on its site his family





THE OLD FRANCISCAN FRIARY AT CARRICKFERGUS AS "QUEEN'S STORES."

(From U.J.A., vols. iii., p. 276; vii., p. 1, old series.)

"The convent of Carrickfergus was founded in the maritime city of that name, in the diocese of Connor, in Ulster, about the time of st. Francis, and was formerly placed in the custody of Drogheda. It was reformed in the year 1457, at the instance of Neale MacArdle O'Neill. It was suppressed in the year 1560, the friars having been driven off and dispersed, and some of them killed. It was at last totally destroyed by Arthur Chichester, viceroy of Ireland, and remained vacant till the year 1626, when father Francis Mathew, being provincial, a residence was erected in the district, and F. Edmond Cana, a theologian and preacher, was appointed superior. The first founder of that convent was Hugh de Lacy, junr., earl of Ulster, who died in the habit of the friars-minors, in the year 1253, and was buried there. O'Neill was also buried there, as well as many other noblemen, of both families of that district."

"Almost all the houses in this towne were built castlewise, soe as though the Irish made spoile of and burnt the towne, yett were they preserved unburnt. This is butt a preattie little town within the walls of a very small extent and capacitie: the only grace of this towne is the lord Chichester's house, which is a very statelye house, or rather like a prince's pallace, whereunto there belongs a stately gate-house and graceful terrace, and walk before the house, as at Denton, my lord Fairefax-house. A very faire hall there is, and a stately stair-case, and faire dineing room, carrying the proportion of the hall. Fine garden, and mighty spatious orchards, and they say they bear good fruite. I observed on either side of his garden, there is a dove-house placed, one opposite to the other, in the corner of the garden, and twixt the garden and the orchards: a most convenient place for apricockes, for some such tender fruite to be planted agt. the dove-house wall, that by the advantage of the heat thereof they may be rendered more fruitful and come sooner to maturitie, but the use is not made thereof. Very rich furniture belongs unto this house, which seems much to be neglected, and begins to go something to decay. It is a most stately building, onely the windowes and rooms and whole frame of the house is over large and vast."

The Donegall family ceased to reside in Carrickfergus about 1724, from which time Joymount was suffered to go to ruin. In 1768, it began to be taken down: its marble chimney pieces and other articles of value were removed to Fisherwick Lodge, Staffordshire. Even Fisherwick Lodge was not allowed to stand any length of time. It was pulled down in 1809, and the materials sold, and bits of them scattered all over the county of Stafford.

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mansion called Joymount. The proud monument of Chichester's ill-gotten wealth is now the county gaol.

The ancient plans of Carrickfergus show a large stone cross, called "Great Patrick's Cross," standing in the main street; the pedestal of a broken cross is also seen standing in the churchyard attached to the Franciscan convent.

(*f*) War. MSS. (*g*) Harris's ibid. (*h*) War. MSS. v. 34.

The Ulster Civil War, 1641.

"The King's Commission" in the County Cavan.

By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D.

[Matter interlined on the original manuscripts I place within brackets.]

(Continued from vol. xv., part i., page 13.)

45. Moses Ibott "of Ellisbeg in the parish Castleterra, in county Cavan, gentleman,"

ii, 253.

further saith that the Rebell Richard Ashe of Lisnemanie in the countie of Cavan esqre did by force and armes in the highway as this depont. (being so robbed) was flying towardes Dublin, take and carry away of the goodes & chattells of ffrancis Suggesden certain silver spoons & plate worth above ffive powndes, ster.

And this depont heard one Jon mcMorrice of the parish of Larah, and other Rebells, publiquely say, That the proud Parliamt of England was the cawse of this Rebellion —Jur. vito. Julij, 1643.

This Richard Ash—before the rising an English protestant—is a rather prominent figure in the depositions relating to county Cavan (See No. 37 above).

46. William Reinolds, late of Curgarrah, in the countie of Cavan, yeoman,

heard one mrs. Sheridan, the wiffe of mr. Denis Sheridan, a protestant minister, confidently affirme and say: That a Roguish Rebell, at her howse in the parrish of Kilmore, publiquely sayd and wished that he had the King's head there, meaneing the head of or [gratious] soueraigne Lord King Charles, Whereunto the same [gentlewoman], for such his traiterous words, could not forbeare, but called him Rogue. Saying further that before these times came he durst not have said so.—(Jur. xii. Julij, 1643.)

This deponent, on the information of one "Thomas Collins, a protestant," attributes similar expressions to "the rebels" about Farnham: expressions which, at all events, are inconsistent with any pretence of commission from the king.

47. John Seaman, yeoman, like most of the deponents, has nothing to say about "the commission;" but he relates an incident which ought to be known.

ii, 263.

And the deponent further saith that he for his owne [pt], together with his wife & his brother's child, after they were so robbed, fledd for safety of their lives to Sr James Craig's castle called Croaghan, where they staid for about 8 months, & coming at length to great want there, & being thereby very faint and weak, one Richard McSymonds, his late neere neighbour, an Irishman, one who had been a souldier in this Kingdom for the late Queen Eliz., perceiving this deponts weaknes & misery, did out of mere pity, take him, his wife

& the child aforesd to his owne howse, & there vsed them kindly vntil the depont had well recovered his strength, And then came in person as a convoy for them as nere Trim as he durst, and left them not before that tyme: His owne goodnes inciting him to doe those charitable acts: for wch he must leave them and his family to the recompense of God Almightie.—(Jur. 30 May, 1643.)

The old soldier deserves credit, and he receives it in full. He could not, however, have shown so much kindness had "the rebels," or any number of them, objected to his taking such course. It was no part of the commissioners' duty to give prominence to acts of kindness on the part of the Irish towards the distressed English. By the terms of their several commissions, Henry Jones and his colleagues were required to chronicle only what was to the discredit of "the rebels;" and they acted up to the requirements with rare fidelity. It was their part to represent the Irish as acting "more like demons than human beings." Yet it is recognisable, that, so far as humanity had part in that civil war, the practice of it was entirely on the side of the Irish and in favour of their opponents.

48. John Whitman, merchant, late of Cavan, gives the following account of Philip MacMulmore O'Reilly:—

ii, 273.

The Rebell Phillip Mullmore óRely with the rest pretended that they had a comission to take away all the Armes & Ammunition from the English in the country, & therefore comanded the depont to deliver his, & this depont (in obedience to that pretended comission) did deliver the armes he had to the sd Phillip Mullmore óRely.—(Jur. xiiii. July, 1643.)

This deposition was made almost a year and three-quarters after the rising, and in that period the deponent had heard many (and conflicting) accounts of the chief actors. I suspect—without impeachment of his veracity—that his memory was confused as to what he said and heard in the alarm and excitement of the earlier scenes. Philip MacMulmore was the sheriff's uncle; and the sheriff's position would account for much of the loose talk about "the commission." Whitman was called upon by the sheriff to give up his arms, and he knew that in emergencies the sheriff might exercise such authority. At any rate, he may have felt how useless resistance would prove. The sub-sheriff, Laghlin McMaster, also took an active part in the rising,* and, judging by the name, he was not an Irishman.

The next extract from the same deposition I must regard as absurd on the face of it, notwithstanding that at least two other deponents recite something of the kind:

But about a week after [he] the sd Phillip came to this depont (as being [as he pretended] brought thither by the other Rebells as a prisoner), & then said that he was sorry

* Cavan Depositions, vol. ii., folios 169, 170.

for what he had done, & that the English were soe miserably vsed, all being taken from them, & noe condicons nor promisses performed with [him] by the Irish : & that for his the said Phillips part he (upon protestacons of the other Rebells that they had the King's comission) had ioyned with them : but then was sorry, & repented him for it, [Saying he] would no further entermeddle with them, And that he therefore was taken and kept prisoner by them.

That Philip MacMulmore disapproved of despoiling the English is pretty certain. But that he—the ablest man among the O'Reillys (see No. 12, *supra*)—should be so misled is sheer nonsense. Who had a better right to know whether or not there was any commission or authority? Again, what man among the English party had a better right to be acquainted with Philip MacMulmore's views than dr. Henry Jones, the man who spent five or six weeks in this "Rebel's" house, as guest rather than prisoner? Yet, as above remarked, Jones in his "Relation" never even hints at such things as the less wary and less-informed deponents so lightly affirm upon oath.

I think it well to note here, that among the depositions are to be found the examinations of many scores of gentlemen belonging to the Irish party who, by capture or surrender, came into the hands of the government. I have followed their examinations closely—even to the extent of transcribing more of them than I care to mention. Yet I cannot recall an instance in which any such prisoner pleaded that he was influenced by a commission from the king or by any pretence of one. Moreover, with the exception of lord Maguire and Hugh Oge MacMahon, I cannot find that any Irish gentleman was afforded the opportunity of expressing his views on the question of "the commission." One notable instance :—When sir Phelim O'Neill was examined (23 February, 1652-3) at the council-board, in Dublin, he was questioned about the "commissions" he had from the Ulster chiefs, from the lords of the pale (to command at the siege of Drogheda), and from the supreme council at Kilkenny; but—so far as the record shows—was asked nothing about a commission from the king, a bull from the pope, or any of the big "massacres" he was said to have perpetrated or authorised; and dr. Henry Jones, who for eleven years had been recording hearsay stories taken *in camera* about these matters, was present at the table and witnessed the examination by his signature.*

* The original is among the Co. Armagh Depositions (folio 167). The examination has been printed by Gilbert, *Affairs in Ireland in 1641*, iii., 367, with fac-simile of third and last page, and the autographs, seven in number.

And it was not so in sir Phelim's case alone. It was the same case with every man of position among the Irish who came into their hands. I have formerly printed the examinations * of Patrick and Owen MacArtan of Kinelarty, county Down, Irish leaders who came into the hands of the Cromwellians. It would have been much in their favour could they have pleaded either the king's commission, or that they had been misled by a pretended commission. In their examinations there is no indication that any such matter was even hinted at. The late sir John T. Gilbert has printed the examinations of several Leinster gentlemen who surrendered in the earlier part of 1642, in the vain expectation of being received into favour with the Parsons-Borlase government. These examinations are remarkable for keeping clear of "the commission," real or pretended.

I have given much attention to the subject, and the result of my study is simply this: the question of the commission was ignored by the rulers of Dublin Castle when they had the opportunity of settling it for ever. They were anxious enough to collect hearsay stories; but when they had before them the men whose views of the matter were worth having, the subject was shelved. That question was not to be looked at too closely.

This is the particular aspect of the case to which I would direct the attention of the inquirer—There has been much discussion about what *might* have occurred at Edinburgh; there has been no investigation of what should have occurred in Ireland.

* *The Bloody Bridge*, p. 251.

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THE PARISH CHURCH OF CARNMONEY, CIRCA 1820
(from an old drawing at Ardrigh)

The Church of Coole or Carnmony,

With some References to other South Antrim Churches.

BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

THE south of Antrim bordering on Carrig-Fergus Bay or Belfast Lough breaks into a series of glens, not so deep or wildly romantic as *the* glens of Antrim, but still with much interest and beauty of their own. They are, geographically speaking, the first of the glens of Antrim, but have now quite a different appearance, on account of the growth of Belfast, to what they had at the time about which I am writing. These glens had each its own church, about two miles or so from the shore. The first one was Sean-cill, an ancient church dedicated to saint Patrick, situated on what is now the Shankill road, Belfast. No portion of the church remains, but the graveyard is still in use. This church was built in what was doubtless a wooded glen, on the banks of a little river, which rose on the slopes of the Squire's hill, and wandered

through Edenderry (telling of oak woods) and the Old park, past the old church. It was then utilised by the old mill of Belfast, near the mill-field, and flowed on down the centre of the High street of Belfast. This was the Belfast river—the Fearsat—on which st. Patrick's church was built.

Leaving Belfast and journeying due north, the next glen was Glen-gormlaithe (Glengormley), in the parish of Carnmoney. The stream passing down this glen, which was also deeply wooded, was the Glass-a-bradan (the stream of the salmon), and near its banks was built the ancient church of Coole. The site of the old church was in the centre of the old graveyard, and on it was reared at a later date one of those rude square reformation churches with which we are all familiar. They were built, and they have all the appearance of such erection, merely to satisfy legal requirements. There were few or no English church people in the parish until recent years, the district having been planted with Scotch presbyterians, so its use was not very great and its ornament was nil. There were no catholics left in the parish. The old church was removed in 1856, when the present handsome building was consecrated, largely through the generosity of the Smythe family, and the old site given as burial-places to new comers into the parish, the Valentines, Fitz-Simons, Dixons, Torrens, Blands, Graingers, etc. The difference between their monuments and the older stones still clearly denote the site of the old church. The views here given of the old church came to me from the late archdeacon Smythe; he and his father had been vicars of Carnmoney for nearly one hundred years. The building had no windows on the north side, a somewhat usual custom, nor were there any graves there originally, but they crowded close up to the east end and south wall. My own people's graves were close against the latter. A law came into force that no burials should take place within ten feet of the church under a penalty of ten pounds. This law was broken, and the penalty sometimes exacted. The door was in the tower at the west end, where sir Hugh Cairns' enclosure now is; there was no vestry. A former rector stabled his horse in this porch, and afterwards donned his black gown at the prayer-desk, which stood below the pulpit against the south wall. This may have been Thomas Merrifield, who was vicar in 1758, as he resided in High street, Belfast; or it may have been his successor, Mathew Garnet, who was the son of lord Donegall's schoolmaster in the old Latin school in Church lane. The nomination was with the Donegall family, who appointed hangers-on of the family, for I find that Garnet

was also "constable of Belfast castle." Edward Patterson succeeded Garnet, and during his tenure of the post he assisted at st. Anne's on Sunday afternoon. He too, doubtless, had a horse, and so local tradition holds good. Merrifield was non-resident, for no sooner was he appointed in 1758 than he at once advertised to let "the glebe lands of the parish of Carmony, containing 51 acres arable pasture and meadow, wherein there is plenty of turf and limestone."—Apply to the rev. Thomas Merrifield at his house in Belfast. Mathew

TOWER OF CARNMONEY PARISH CHURCH, NORTH SIDE, CIRCA 1820.

Garnet came in about 1767, when lord Donegall, the absentee, returned to Belfast, and created the land agitation carried on by that early Ulster land reforming society known as the Hearts of Steel. All Carnmoney, Ballylinney, and Templepatrick was controlled by this body for well nigh twenty years, so Garnet as the nominee of Donegall had a poor time of it. He could have had no local support and no parishioners. About this time the gross value of the "living" was about £575 per annum, with no duties save the legal ones. John

Winder, the friend and successor of Jonathan Swift at Kilroot, held the vicarage about 1697. He, doubtless, used the old Irish highway to Carrick in his travels back and forward. A portion of this road is still used between the Tobar-ban (Whitewell) and the church, crossing the Glash-a-bradan. There are no local traditions whatever about any of these old clergy, so they were considered simply as "comers and goers" and tithe collectors.

The inside of the church was as plain and bare as the outside. There were six square pews on the south side with the "three-decker," and seven on the north side. The pulpit had no canopy, nor was there any stove, so that on a cold bleak Sunday the few attenders often adjourned to the adjoining glebe where prayers were said around the drawing-room fire. The windows were wide and slightly pointed, with plain wooden sash frames, the east one being similar, with the communion table below it. A pathway led to the church door from the old road on the north side. The existing road along the south side is more modern. The only fragment of the old church that I know of is the circular stone window-casing from the tower, which is now built over a well on the glebe avenue.

The present condition of the graveyard is creditable to no one. It is invariably out of order and badly kept. Gravestones have been broken, cast aside, and used up for other "jobs." Cumbrous and obstructive iron railings have been erected everywhere, quite blocking the passages. These were largely erected quite recently by a former sexton as a contractor, with the permit of the vicar and his vestry, in order to make the sexton money, quite regardless of the fitness of things. Enormous sums of money must have been gathered in by former vicars for tithes and dues and grave-lettings, and yet no proper provision has been made for the decent care of the graveyard. Collections are now taken up for the purpose, and some work done occasionally, but it is quite inadequate to keep the place as it should be kept. Anyway vandalism should and must cease forthwith. Graves don't belong to the living but to the dead, and the trust is a sacred one. On an old stone in Bangor is the following inscription:—

> Posterity are desired to take care
> that the ASHES of the DEAD in
> This Burial place May not be
> Disturbed by strangers.

(This notice might be served yearly on the parochial authorities of Carnmoney.) Many beautiful and interesting monuments stand in the churchyard, more especially the Smythe Celtic high cross, with its Irish inscription, second to no modern cross in Ireland ; many noted and historic people are buried there ; surely then every effort should be made to keep the place at least decent and comely.

After Glengormley, on the north side of Carnmoney hill, is another glen. On the slopes of the Knockagh, facing south, a little stream rises and runs into the river in its centre, which finds its way into the sea at Whiteabbey. I cannot trace the proper name of this river or glen, although I feel sure they must be recorded on some of the old deeds or maps. On the banks of this stream was the ancient church of Cill-na-managh, now Monkstown, situated quite similarly to that of Sean-cill and Carnmoney. Still further north in the Woodburn glen, on a similar site, on the banks of a stream falling into the Woodburn river, are the remains of the ancient church of Cilliann (the church at the river) at Duncrue. Within half a mile east of it is another church, known as saint Nicholas of Carn Rawsie, at Burleigh Hill.

At the foot of each of these glens, bordering the sea, was another ecclesiastical building. At Belfast ford was the old church on the site of the present saint George's. At Cloch-castle, or Greencastle, close to the old castle, was another church. The White abbey was also close to the sea, as was the fine old abbey at Woodburn.

RICHARD MONTGOMERY OF LIFFORD, COUNTY DONEGAL,
Major-General in American Revolution.
(From original painting by C. W. Peale in Philadelphia Museum.)

Richard Montgomery,

of Lifford in Dun-na-gall

(An Ulster Settler in America).

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTION ARMY OF THE UNITED STATES, 1775.

[The following extracts are taken from a very rare magazine entitled, the *Ulster Register* (vol. v., p. 173), printed in Belfast in 1818, for John Lawless. I have added some notes.—ED.]

E devote, as a sacred duty, a portion of the *Register* to record the well-earned fame, and per-petuate the memory of our illustrious countryman, the valiant Montgomery, who fell in the attack on Quebec, in the great revolutionary struggle for the independence of America.

General Richard Montgomery was a native of Ireland, born 1738, of a well known family near Lifford, county Donegall. His great mind decided early in favour of the cause of America and that of man, civil and religious liberty. He fell in the conflict of the 31st December, 1775, aged 37.

Most of our readers are acquainted with the history of that revolution, in which he bore so conspicuous a part at its commencement, and which has consigned to him such immortal renown—all will feel real gratification in the distinguished honours we now record (after the lapse of half a century) to the remains of this great man. The solemn feeling—the sincere veneration shown to his very bones by the greatest quarter of the world proclaim Montgomery and his cause immortal.

THE FUNERAL OF GENERAL MONTGOMERY.

(From the Columbian.)

New York, 8 July, 1818—This day is devoted to rendering solemn honours to one of the distinguished worthies of the revolution, who gallantly laid down his life for his adopted country—He nobly died, that we might live free,—Montgomery, distinguished as a soldier and admired for his social qualities, planned the hardy enterprise against Canada, which but for his fall, would no doubt have been successful. One fatal ball deprived the army of their general and his two aids.—And Montgomery (like Laurence) died while cheering his men to the battle.

General Montgomery was descended from a distinguished family in Ireland, and like most of his country-men, he entertained a noble attachment

to the principles of civil liberty, and was one of the first to take up arms in the cause. At the early age of 37, his gallant soul was taken aloft, and his body rested on the field of honour.

The state of New York, always alive to the reputation of the nation, and ready to aid every patriotic effort, has obtained the remains of the hero, and hereafter, as we pass st. Paul's church, and view the monument, we shall have the solemn satisfaction of reflecting that here rest the relics of an early martyr to the cause, whose fame is immortal in our history and in the grateful remembrance of his country.

ORDER OF THE PROCESSION.

Officers and eight dragoons.

1 Military by the left, with arms and colours reversed, drums, &c., muffled.
2 Four pieces of artillery.
3 Milit. officers (not on duty) in uniform.
4 Officers of the U.S. army do.
5 Officers of the navy.
6 Tammany society.
7 Hibernian provident society.
8 Mechanics' society.
9 Washington benevolent society.
10 Shamrock society.
11 New York typographical society.
12 United benevolent society of tailors.
13 Journey men house carpenters benevolent society.
14 Union society of shipwrights' caulkers.
15 The grand lodge of the state of New York, and the lodge under their jurisdiction.
16 Citizens.
17 Regents of the university.
18 President, professors, the students of the college.
19 Do. do. do. physicians and surgeons.
20 Gentlemen of the bar.
21 Civil and judicial officers of the city.
22 Do. do. do. state.
23 Do. do. do. United States.
24 Members of the late and present legislature.
25 Members of the congress.
26 Vice president of the United States.
27 Consuls of foreign nations, and foreigners of distinction, with their respective consuls.
28 Committee of arrangements.

29 Officers of the day and aids.
30 Clergy.
31 Pall bearers { BIER } pall bearers.
32 Horse caparisoned with black, led by two servants.
33 Cols. Gansevnort and Livingston.
34 Relations.
35 Cincinnati society.
36 Officers of the revolutionary and late wars.
37 Corporation of the city.
38 An officer and eight dragoons.

The following are the officers of the day—

Colonel Plat.
Colonel W. T Hunter
Col. C. Graham
Lieut.-col. C. King } Aids.
Major A. Chrystie
D. C. Colden.

From *The Albany Register.*

The hallowed remains of our beloved Montgomery are removed from a foreign land, where, for nearly forty-three years, they have reposed, "unknowing and unknown." From all the busy world, who have listened to a tale of patriotism, his devotion and his valour; from the hosts of thousands, who saw with amazement the might of his Herculean arm, when raised in the cause of liberty, one only could point to the sod, under whose favoured pall our hero slept. That country to whom his manly and generous soul was so exclusively devoted have received his decaying fragments of mortality to its bosom. In consigning these sacred names to the protection of our common mother, a grateful people will cherish in their hearts a sweet remembrance of his virtues with an embittered regret for his untimely fate.

We have now, in relation to one of the fathers of our country, redeemed our character from the imputation of ingratitude. All this was due to the bereaved, disconsolate and venerable companion of our fallen chieftain's bosom, and infinitely more was due to the memory and remains of the devoted martyr to the sacred and imperishable altar of freedom.

The age-stricken widow of our hero yet lives to see the loved remains of her and her country's Montgomery, removed from the plains of crimsoned Abraham and deposited in the bowels of a country at the shrine of whose welfare he preferred all the energies of his mind and all the mightiness of his strength.

The removal of the remains was left by his excellency the governor to the family of the deceased, and colonel L. Livingston (a nephew of general

Montgomery) proceeded to Quebec for the purpose. They were identified by the faithful hand of an honest and ingenuous old soldier, who attended the funeral, and whose retentive memory almost half a century after that mournful era, is yet spared to direct the hand of affection to that hallowed turf. Montgomery was the personal and intimate friend of the lieut.-general of the Canadas—was recognized by him after the battle, and favoured with a coffin and a decent interment. He was buried within the walls of the city. His aids-de-camps, MacPherson and Chessman, were both thrown into a hole with their clothes.

The coffin which contained the remains had not fallen to pieces. It appears to have been of a rough structure, with a silver plate on its lid—there was no inscription visible on the plate. The anatomy was in a perfect state of preservation. The skeleton of the head with the exception of the under jaw which was shot away is perfect. Three teeth of the under jaw are together.

General Solomon Van Rensselear was charged by the governor with the direction of the escort from Whitehall to this city and rendered the solemnities interesting and expressive. The remains were taken up with great care by colonel L. Livingston, and secured by binding a tarpaulin close round the old coffin. They were then enclosed in an iron bound chest. At Troy they took them from the box and tar cloth and inclosed them, together with the original coffin, in a most splendid mahogany coffin made by John Meade, with the following inscription elegantly engraved upon a silver plate by Shepherd and Boyd of this city :—

The State of New York
In honour of
General RICHARD MONTGOMERY,
Who fell gloriously fighting for the Independence and liberty
of the United States before the
Walls of Quebec, the 31st Dec., 1775,
Caused these remains of this distinguished
Hero
To be conveyed from Quebec, and deposited on the 8th day of July, 1818,
in St. Paul's Church in the
City of New York, near the Monument
erected to his Memory by the
United States.

General Van Rensselear politely waited at the capitol a number of hours

on Sunday, and four citizens enjoyed the mournful consolation of bowing over the mouldering dust of fallen greatness.

The remains were received by the military and civil authorities at the seat of general Stephen Van Rensselear, and were escorted to the capitol, where they were deposited until Monday morning. Capt. Lansing's company of artillery were detached as a guard. The procession moved more than a mile in a slow and solemn step. The death-toned muffled drum, the plaintive fife, and the shrill bugle warbled sounds of sorrow to every heart.

From the correspondent who so kindly forwarded the intelligence to us, we have also had a letter containing the following additional particulars :—

The procession was rendered more interesting to the Irish spectator, who (recollecting the religious disabilities which exclude the Irish clergy from any participation in public solemnities) pronounced such distinctions unknown to the American constitution, as on the memorable occasion which celebrates the memory of an illustrious Irishman, bishop Connolly and his clergy shared in the public sentiment the same opportunity of expressing their devotion to the name of their departed countryman.

Among the catholic clergymen were the rev. mr. Carberry, mr. French, mr. Cairns, mr. Taylor, lately arrived from Fermoy, and mr. Mailan from France.

The procession was likewise honoured with the presence of several general officers belonging to the emperor Napoleon.

Mrs. Montgomery, the widow of the gallant chief, now in her 80th year, had the consolation of witnessing from her brother, judge Livingston's windows in Broadway, the solemn and distinguished testimonies bestowed by his fellow-citizens and fugitive countrymen on the remains of the martyr to American freedom.

The national expression was much increased by the arrival of the Washington line of battle ship the preceding evening from the Mediterranean. This noble specimen of American naval architecture was moored in the North river flanking the procession, and continued, during the time, firing minute guns from her lower deck, six-and-thirty pounders.

The shamrock society displayed an elegant standard of green silk with the word "Montgomery" on one side and "Quebec" on the reverse, and had the honour of being complimented by the officer of the day for their attendance and appearance, which was expressed by the reverend orator who pronounced the funeral eulogium, who had the Irish ensign placed on the coffin during the oration.

The harp bound in mourning and surmounted with the cap of liberty in the same mournful decoration, was exhibited by a very numerous body of the Hibernian provident society.

(End of article in Ulster Register.)

The family of Montgomery was of Scottish origin, and was heavily planted in Ulster, where many of its members settled down and prospered in a few generations. They had a good deal of land in Tireon and Daire and Dun-na-gall. Richard Montgomery was born about 1738, at Convoy. His father, Thomes Montgomery, was m.p. for Lifford, and his brother, Alexander, commonly called "black Montgomery," sat in the Irish parliament for thirty-two years as member for the county Donegal. Montgomery, who was the third son, entered the army at eighteen & fought under Wolfe in Canada. He sold his commission, settled at Rhinebeck on the Hudson, and married a daughter of judge Livingston, but left no issue. In 1775 Congress appointed him brigadier-general, and he gave his full services to the revolutionists, considering that "the will of an oppressed people, compelled to choose between liberty and slavery, must be obeyed." His father is said to have been disinherited from the family estate at Ballyleck, county Monaghan, for marrying Mary Franklin against his father's wishes.

Ulster about this time was being heavily drained of its best young blood by the aggression of the landlords and the exactions of the state church. Thousands and thousands sailed for America, every port was blocked with emigrant shipping. Those who were forced to leave went with bitter hearts towards the English government. Many left their mark before they fled away; many rendered a willing service as hearts of steel. Young Montgomery left at this time, although not so popularly influenced as others, yet with almost every other Ulster man or boy who landed in America he sided with the colonies and against English aggression at the revolution. They had suffered from that in Ireland, and fully intended to shed their last drop of blood before they would endure it in the west. The result was that the finest regiments fighting in the revolution were filled with Irishmen largely from Ulster. It can safely be said without such aid the revolution would have ended similarly to the attempted Irish revolution of '98, in "disaster and woe." Revolution spells rebellion when unsuccessful. Cornwallis was driven defeated and disgraced from America to take up the same role in '98 in Ireland, where the fates were more propitious to him. There is, or was, a craze in America to talk of these Ulstermen as "Scotch-Irish." In all these records concerning Montgomery we find no such reference. His country is always Ireland, and he is always an Irishman. The Irish flag covered his coffin, Irish societies alone of the nations had a place in his funeral procession, Irish clergy, catholic and protestant, were there in numbers. This is more than borne out by the records of the friendly sons of saint Patrick, an Irish society founded in pre-revolution times in America, and carried on through the revolution, and down to the present day. It was distinctly an Irish society and not a Scotch one; it met on st. Patrick's day, not st. Andrew's; and though almost entirely composed of Irish presbyterians

MONUMENT AND TOMB OF RICHARD MONTGOMERY AT THE CHURCH OF SAINT PAUL, BROADWAY, NEW YORK.

and episcopalians, with but three catholics at its foundation, yet these Irishmen, to show their absolute liberality and tolerance, elected general Stephen Moylan, a catholic, as their first president.

At Montgomery's death, lord Chatham and Burke eulogised him in the English parliament, both referring to him as "only a brave, able, humane, and generous rebel." Fox rebukingly replied, "the name of rebel is no certain mark of disgrace; all the great assertors of liberty, the saviours of their country, the benefactors of mankind in all ages have been called rebels."—(See *Webb's Compendium.*)

I have been able, through the kindness of general St. Claire Mulholland, himself a distinguished Ulsterman from Lisburn, to produce a portrait of general Montgomery, and of his tomb in saint Paul's church in the Broadway, New York. From reading the inscription on the latter, and also the lines engraved upon his coffin, I would say that this public monument had been erected to Montgomery at the time of the revolution in 1776, and that his body in 1818 was laid beside his monument. The following is the inscription on the upper panel of the tomb:—

This monument is erected by the order of Congress
25 Janry. 1776 to transmit to Posterity a grateful remembrance of the patriotism conduct enterprise and perseverance
of Major General RICHARD MONTGOMERY
who after a series of successes amidst the most discouraging Difficulties Fell in the attack on
QUEBEC 31 Decr. 1775 aged 37 years.

The following inscription on a lower panel was evidently added when the body was brought from Quebec:—

The State of New York
Caused the Remains of
Majr Genl RICHARD MONTGOMERY
to be conveyed from Quebec
and deposited beneath this monument
the 8th day of July
1818.

It is interesting to know that two other famous Irishmen, William MacNevin and Thomas Addis Emmet, are buried in the same churchyard.

The Vestry Books of the Parish of Down.

1703-1828.

By Edward Parkinson, Downpatrick.

(Continued from vol. xv., page 28.)

NOTWITHSTANDING the fact that the church was re-erected in 1737, the necessity for repairs to the roof was discussed at a vestry on 18 March, 1756, "and it was agreed upon by the parishioners assembled at said vestry that mr. Thomas West, of the Quoile, do inquire into and make a proper estimate of the materials and workmanship necessary for said purposes, which estimate is to be submitted to the considerations of next vestry to be held in this church." At the following vestry, held on 30 March, mr. West was directed to carry out the requisite repairs, and it was agreed "that said West do provide all proper materials, and execute said work with all convenient expedition, in a proper and sufficient manner, to be approved of by two judicious and impartial workmen, and that said West be paid by the parish at the rate of three shillings per square for said materials and workmanship, and be further allowed the sum of fifteen shillings towards providing ladders, ropes, etc." On 7 June, 1756, a sum of £9 18s. 0d. was assessed for the repairs to the roof.

A sum of £10 was assessed on 31 May, 1757, "towards a fund for building a new spire." At the next vestry held on 3 Jan., 1758, the several sums assessed by the preceding vestry were agreed to as necessary "excepting that under the article of ten pounds towards a fund for erecting a new spire. We do here, in consideration of the dearness of provisions at the prest times, enact that in lieu of the said ten pounds, only the sum of five pounds shall be levyed off the habitants for this year for said purpose." A similar sum of £5 was assessed for each of the three following years, but there is no mention of expending the money in erecting the spire.

On 24 Dec., 1759, it was reported to the vestry that "the principle sides in the rooff of said church was crackd, and if not immediately attended to would endanger the rooff and ceiling, and produce very much additional expense to sd. parish by delay of the work." Directions were given to have the necessary repairs made, but apparently nothing was then done, and on 3 April, 1763, messrs. Hugh Hill and John Trotter were appointed to examine into the condition of the roof, etc., and to have estimates prepared and submitted to the vestry to be held on following Whitsun. The Whitsun vestry was further adjourned for the purpose of "consulting the parishioners

concerning what may be necessary to be done in order to the security of the parish church at prest seemingly in a ruinous condition." The adjourned meeting was held on 5 April, 1763, when the report of Hill and Trotter as to the state of the roof was considered, and it was resolved, "that it appears to the parishioners in this vestry assembled, from sd. report, that the roof of sd. church cannot be repaired, and that according to said report it is necessary that a new roof shoud be put on sd. church. Ordered that the rev. doctor Delany, dean of Downe, Edward Southwell, Hugh Hill, and John Trotter, esq.'s, be requested to collect subscriptions towards erecting said roof, the parish not being able to raise a sum sufficient for that purpose, and that said gent, or any of them, do write or apply to the right hon. the earl of Hillsborough, the representatives in parliament for the county of Downe, the representatives in parliament for the borough of Downe, and request their assistance." The new roof was erected between June, 1764, and Easter, 1766; the expense was carried out by subscription, but there is no record of the amount expended nor raised. No sum towards the expense was raised off the parish. During the repairs divine service was held in the market house, as the minutes of the vestries held in 1765 state they were held "in the market house of Downe (being the place wherein divine service is performed till the parish church be repaired.)"

Amongst their other duties churchwardens, previous to disestablishment, had the poor to look after. In the minutes of the vestry meeting held on 5 October, 1736, it is recorded that the vestry agreed, amongst other things, "that three shills shall be levyd and paid to William Hall for a new book for registering the poor." On the 9 July, 1745, the vestry levied a sum "for a bang beggar, and a coat for him," and in the account submitted to the vestry at following Easter the churchwardens take credit for a sum of £2 4s. "for the bang beggar's coat, and money paid." The duties of the bang beggar were to prevent begging from door to door.

In the year 1771 an act for the relief of the poor was passed by the Irish parliament. By this act corporations were instituted and authorised to grant to the helpless poor who had resided for one year within their respective county, city, or town, badges or marks of such material and stamp as the corporation should think fit, and to grant licenses to such helpless poor to beg, specifying the name, place of birth, and character of the person so licensed. It was also enacted that any person over 15 years of age found begging without such license and without wearing such badge exposed on their back or shoulder should be committed to the stocks, for the first offence, for a term not exceeding three hours, and for every subsequent offence a term not exceeding six hours. Persons who persevered in begging without badges and license were to be publicly whipped in the market town, and imprisoned; and any person found begging with a counterfeit license or badge, or with a

license or badge issued to another party, were to be imprisoned in the county gaol for ten days. Readers of "the Antiquary" will recollect that amongst the personal adornments of Edie Ochiltree, the beggar man, was "a long blue gown, with a pewter badge on the right arm."

At a meeting of the vestry held on 1 June, 1773, it was agreed that a sum of £10 and interest, in mr. M'Clinchy's hands, should be called in and applied in "buying surplices and badging the poor of said parish." At a subsequent vestry (14 June, 1773,) the £10 and interest thereon, amounting to £7 18s. 3½d., was paid to the then churchwardens (George Sayers and William Bell), and their receipt taken for the amount in the minute book. A special meeting was held on 26 July, 1773, "in order to badge the poor of said parish." At this meeting "the following persons being well recommended, were admitted, and received badges accordingly." Then follow the names and residences of the parties to whom the badges were issued, and the number of the badge. In all, badges were issued to thirteen persons, of whom seven were in the town of "Downe," and the remainder in four of the townlands comprised in the parish, viz.:—Ballydonety (2), Cargah (1), Bonecastle (1), and Ballydugan (2).

A controversy between the dean and the parishioners arose at the vestry held on Easter Tuesday, 1790, as to the right of appointing the churchwardens, the dean insisting that he had the right to chose both churchwardens, and the parishioners insisting that he had no such right against the consent of the majority of the parishioners. The dean, rev. W. Annesley, presided, and although the minutes of the meeting were signed only by himself, the two outgoing churchwardens, and five other parishioners, yet, as will be seen from the events detailed hereafter, there was a very large attendance, and probably the meeting was the largest ever held in the parish of Down, and without doubt was the most remarkable, whether in this or any other parish. The minutes of the meeting, although they tend to show that a considerable amount of friction must have taken place, do not make any mention of the circumstances immediately preceding and during the meeting. These latter are, however, fully disclosed in contemporary documents, and will be described hereafter. But first of all we will deal with the controversy between the dean and parishioners, and how it was settled. The minutes state:—"At said vestry Wm. Johnston, of Downe, esq., and . . . . . was chosen to serve the office of churchwarden for the ensuing year by the dean. This appointment was opposed by the majority of the parishrs, who declared that they had a right to nominate, and who chose Jas. Crawford, esq., as churchwarden, declaring the sd. dean had no right to chuse the sd. W. Johnston against the consent of the majority of the parishrs. The said parishioners also named mr. Saml. Hunter as the other churchwarden. The dean of Down declared mr. Wm. Johnston and mr.

Saml. Hunter churchwardens. The parish declare James Crawford and Saml. Hunter churchwardens." The vestry was adjourned to the Whit Monday following. At the adjourned meeting the rev. John Dickson, curate, presided, and the following appears in the minutes:—"At said vestry its further resolved that the nomination of James Crawford, esq., and mr. Samuel Hunter, the churchwardens appointed at last Easter vestry, is this day confirmed, against which resolution the curate enters his protest before signing." Amongst those present, and who signed the minutes of this meeting, were Crawford and Hunter, the churchwardens appointed by the parishioners, and who signed as "churchwardens." William Johnston, who had been appointed by the dean, was also present, and signed as "churchwarden," but objected to the resolution. At the Easter vestry of 1791 the dean appointed Walter Hodges as churchwarden. This appointment was opposed by the parishioners present for the same reason as the preceding appointment was opposed, and they appointed William Trotter and Alexander Smyth. The dean declared Hodge and Smyth, and the parishioners declared Trotter and Smyth, churchwardens. This meeting was adjourned to the following Whit Monday, and, judging by the large number of parishioners who signed the minutes of the adjourned meeting, it would appear that the excitement over the controversy was increasing. The dean presided, and the following appears in the minutes:—"A motion having been made by Thomas Nevin that the choice of mr. Trotter and mr. Smith as churchwardens be now confirmed, and the dean refusing to put the same, the motion was put by mr. Nevin, and the sense of the parishioners taken, when the choice of mr. Trotter and mr. Smith was confirmed by a considerable majority, and said gentlemen appointed, W^m. Madill, of Ballydugan, and Saml. Gordon, of Downe, to be their sidesmen. The churchwardens and parish^rs. present hereby enter their protest against the appointment of any persons at Whitsuntide vestry to applat the cess, the same being an innovation, and contrary to the custom of the parish." At the following Easter vestry, held 10 April, 1792, the dean appointed James Parkinson as churchwarden and the parishioners appointed James Quail and Ambrose Cromer. The dean declared Parkinson and Quail elected, and the parishioners declared Quail and Cromer. This meeting was adjourned to the following Whit Monday, but nothing appears to have been done at the adjourned meeting as to the controversy, at all events there is no record. It would appear, however, that negotiations for settling the dispute took place between the dean and the parishioners, and a vestry was held on 20 Feb., 1793, "for the purpose of settling the dispute subsisting between the dean and parishioners respecting the nomination of a churchwarden." At this meeting the dean, "at the request of the parishioners then present, withdrew his claim," and the appointment of Quail and Cromer was confirmed.

The leading spirit in the opposition to the dean in this controversy appears to have been William Trotter, who was the then agent of the Downpatrick estate, and along with Alex. Smyth was appointed churchwarden by the parishioners at Easter, 1791, in opposition to Walter Hodges, who was appointed by the dean. Trotter was captain of the Down fuzileers, one of the two regiments of volunteers in Downpatrick at that period. Captain Trotter attended the vestry meeting of Easter, 1790, dressed in his volunteer uniform and accompanied by his company of fuzileers, whom he had drawn up in front of the church door, "with firelocks grounded but their baynots on." One of the fuzileers was stationed at the door "with a naked baynot in his hand and his arm extended across the door to prevent any person from getting in." The number of people assembled in the churchyard was estimated at 2,000 by a person who was present, and a witness in the subsequent proceedings taken against Trotter.

The parishioners and dean Annesley again came in conflict a few years later, this time concerning the appointment of sexton. The Easter vestry of 1802 was presided over by the rev. Arthur Forde, curate of Down, who informed "the parishioners that he had a note from the hon. and rev. Wm. Annesley dean of Downe appointing James Milligan sexton of this parish, & the parishioners unanimously resolved that they would not have sd. Milligan for sexton. Then it was proposed that Thos. Coghran of Bridge St. be now appointed to act as sexton, which was unanimously agreed to." Nothing further appears on the minutes as to this matter.

The landing of the French in Carrickfergus in 1760, and the fear of further French invasions of Ireland, were the principal events which led to the formation of the Irish volunteers, a body originally formed for the defence of our country, but which during the years of its existence, in addition to preserving our shores from foreign invaders, also made itself felt in the government, and obtained many concessions, the benefits of which we still enjoy. The English government did not view the volunteer movement with a friendly eye, but were powerless to resist. The number of the volunteers at the height of their power exceeded 100,000 men, fully armed and equipped, and officered by men of their own choosing. Such a body as this was bound to be of power, whether regarded as a merely defensive force, which it was in its early days, or a body pledged to obtain parliamentary and other reforms, which were its objects in its latter days. In 1793 the Irish parliament passed the militia act, which practically did away with the volunteers. In this act it is stated that "a respectable military force, under the command of officers possessing landed property within this kingdom, is essential to the safety and protection of this realm and its constitution." All males between the ages of 18 and 45 were liable to serve, and the number of men to be raised in the county Down was fixed by the act at 770. It also provided that the king

should appoint a lieutenant-colonel commandant for each county, who should have power to appoint a proper number of lieutenant-colonels, majors, and other officers, qualified as by the act provided, the officers so appointed to rank with the officers of his majesty's forces as youngest of their rank. The various officers to be appointed were required to be possessed of landed property of the yearly values set forth in the act, or heir-apparent of some person possessing a similar estate. These were as follows:—lieutenant-colonel commandant or major commandant, £2,000 yearly value; lieutenant-colonel, £1,800; major, £300; captain, £200; lieutenant, £50; ensign, £20. The number of men to be raised out of each parish was to be ascertained in the mode prescribed, and such number was to be chosen by ballot out of the list of parties liable to serve, but provision was made enabling any person so chosen to procure a substitute to act in his place. In pursuance of this act the county Down raised a regiment of militia, under the command of lord Downshire, known as the "royal Downshire regiment," and which a few years later was divided into two, namely, "the royal south Downshire regiment" and the "royal north Downs." The former is now the 5 batt. royal Irish rifles, with headquarters in Downpatrick, and the latter the 4 batt. R.I.R., with headquarters in Newtownards.

A special vestry was held on 16 Jan., 1794, "for the purpose of providing a maintenance for the wife and children of Bernard Braney, of said parish, drawn to serve as a private in the Downshire militia in compliance with a late act of parliament." The parishioners, however, "unanimously objected to laying any cess upon the parish for the above purpose."

A special vestry was held on 11 Sep., 1797, at which "it was unanimously agreed by the protestant parishioners then present that the sum of six pounds be levied off the inhabitants of sd. parish for each man that sd. parish is obliged by the militia act to furnish for the militia. It was also resolved that a committee be appointed, consisting of the following:—Hawthorn, Crawford, Carson, Nevin, Pilson, Strain, Hastings, to confer with the deputy governors of this county, relating to the above resolution." This committee was unable to obtain in time for the adjourned vestry particulars of the number of men to be raised by the parish, but under date of 2 Oct., 1797, it is recorded "that the number of men to be drawn from this parish to serve in the present militia is thirteen, therefore, it was unanimously agreed by the protestant parishioners then present that the sum of seventy-eight pounds be assessed on the inhabitants of sd. parish for providing the aforesd. number of persons to serve for the sd. parish in the militia."

From the churchwardens account submitted to and approved of by the vestry on 13 Aug., 1798, it appears that there were eight "substitutes," and that they were each paid a sum of £6. It would also appear that the parishioners were in the habit of insuring against having to serve, as the

account referred to includes—"Paid, 110 parishioners who had insured @ 5/5 each. £29 15s. 10d."

On 10 Aug., 1803, a sum of £109 4s. 0d. was assessed on the parish, "being at the rate of eight guineas p man, for twelve men, which is the quota of this parish to serve in the army of reserve, pursuant to sd. act" (1803), for "the purpose of enlisting or raising substitutes for s^d army." A committee—consisting of the rev. Arthur Forde (curate) captain Gordon, Thomas Henry, Geo. Sharrock, and W^m. Bleakley—was appointed to carry the resolution into effect. On the 2nd. Dec. following, a further sum of eight guineas was assessed, "in order to enlist a substitute in the room of a man who has deserted from the army of reserve."

At the vestry on 24 Sep., 1806, it appeared "that there was a ballance of fifty-eight pounds and three pence of money, raised by the parish in aid of the fund for findg substitutes for the army of reserve in the year 1803. It was unanimously agreed that the rev. Arthur Forde shall hand over said ballance to John Brett, to be added to the subscriptions now raising to purchase a new bell, to roof the belfry, and to have a stove erected in the center of the parish church." On 12 Nov., 1807, a sum of £120 was assessed on the parish, being at the rate of £10 per man for 12 men, "for the purpose of enlisting or raising substitutes for s^d. militia." The only account in the vestry book of moneys raised and expended for the purpose of providing men for the militia is for the year 1808, and is as follows:—

The parish of Downe, to John Hays and James Thompson, dr., for raising 12 recruits to serve in the Downshire militia—

		£	s.	d.
1808.	Paid mr. Hugh Stitt	£10	0	0
,,	Paid mr. Aynsworth Pillson	10	0	0
,,	Paid 6 men at £21 2s. 9d. each	126	16	6
,,	Paid 1 do.	21	2	9
,,	Paid 1 do.	22	15	0
,,	Paid 1 do.	22	15	0
,,	Paid 1 do.	22	15	0
,,	Paid Graham and Lennon	1	9	6
,,	Paid John Denvir, per dr. Crawford		11	4½
,,	Paid 2 recruits that ran away		2	6
,,	Paid 1 do. do. do.		1	1
		£238	8	8

Received 465 growns	125	18	9				
Exchange off @ 6 p. cent.	7	11	1½				
	118	7	7½				
Parish cess	120	0	0				
				238	7	7½	
					1	1	

The "465 growns" referred to in this account would appear to be parishioners who had insured. The rate of insurance, as appears by the account of Aug., 1798, was 5/5 each, and 465 persons at this rate would

realize £125 18s. 9d. The vestry of 29 Dec., 1808, which was specially summoned pursuant to the militia act, was "adjourned till Monday, the 16th of Jany., 1809, in order to give an opportunity to those who are liable to the ballott to pay a subscription of two shillings and sixpence to the churchwardens on or before that day."

The last entry of the parish being assessed for the purpose of the militia is under date 23 Jan., 1809, when the vestry unanimously agreed "that the sum of fifty pounds and twelve shillings sterling (being at the rate of ten pounds p. man for five men, and $\frac{11}{101}$ being the quota appointed for this parish) shall be assessed on and levied off the several inhabitants of this parish for sd. purpose."

There are several items of payments to messengers going for the coroner, but the following in the account submitted 3 July, 1815, is of more than passing interest:—"To pd. for sending for coroner 2 different times to hold inquests on the bodies of men shot at the course and Patt Magee, £1 12s. 6d." The "men shot at the course" no doubt lost their lives in one of the many faction fights which formerly disgraced our country, and which were prevalent even up till half a century ago. The "course" referred to is the "old race course," where the Down royal corporation held two meetings yearly. Each of these meetings lasted for a week, and many fierce encounters took place thereat, as all the faction fights and disputes were fought out there, and in some cases, as in the one just quoted, resulted in loss of life.

The Napoleonic wars, and the consequent increased expenditure connected therewith, led to many ways of raising taxes, some of which, to us of the present day, seem most iniquitous. One of the methods adopted was a tax on dwelling-houses having more than six windows. The minimum tax was £1 for each house having more than seven windows. At a meeting of the vestry held on 24 Oct., 1817, it was proposed, seconded, and carried unanimously, "That a petition be prepared to parliament praying a total repeal of the window tax, conceiving it to be a war tax." A committee was appointed for the purpose of preparing the petition, and submitting it to a subsequent meeting for approval. A copy of the petition was directed to be forwarded to C. S. Hawthorne, the then m.p. for Downpatrick, and to be published in the *Dublin Evening Post* and *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*, the expense to be defrayed by the parish. There is nothing further recorded in the minutes as to this resolution, nor whether it was ever acted upon.

The extracts given in the preceding pages are a fair sample of the records contained in the two minute books for the period 1703-1828. There are many others of a similar nature, but those given are the more interesting, and show the varied duties of churchwardens in establishment days. For the sake of continuity, the extracts relating to any particular matter have been kept together in preference to arranging them in strict chronological order, irrespective of what they relate to.

The Mac Suibhne of Banagh and Fanad and Na Dtuath, in Tir-conaill.

EDITED BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

(Continued from vol. xv., page 19.)

Copied from the Ordnance Survey Letters, R.I.A., Co. Donegal.

Ardara, 18 Oct., 1835. Sunday night.

"But not only did these and others who were advanced in Christian perfection, and men full of God, foretell the birth and holiness of Columb, but also the greater part of the heathen *augurs*, very many of whom had been in Ireland before the great light of Christ blazed upon it, presaged the same. When *Finn*, the son of Cubhal (who was perhaps the most celebrated of these augurs, and a man who on account of the Herculean strength of his body and the many triumphs obtained over his enemies, was celebrated not only in annals but in fables), had sent forth his hound to start a stag. The hound pursued the fleeing and affrighted animal, and drove it across the river, which divides the land called Seanghleann from the rest of the mainland. The place, which is situate in the extreme west of Tirconaill, running a great distance into the ocean, rising in high and uncultivated mountains and finally terminating in rugged promontories,[1] has been this long time consecrated to Columb, for whose monastery it is famous. As soon as the stag had reached this place the hound,[2] which, not wild (as it is said) at any time, either overcome or outstripped in running, suddenly stayed its pursuit. Finn, wondering why this keenest of dogs was delaying and hesitating contrary to its custom, closely inquired into the cause of so unusual an event, as far as he was able by his ingenuity[3] and art; and God granting it, he at length discovered the cause, and said to his companions, 'There will be born in this country a son by name Columba, who shall derive his paternal extraction in the 9th generation from Cormac, the now king; and that place

[1] This is very well described. It is evident that Manus had hunted here, as well as Finn. What a pity that Finn has not left us a description of it, or his son, Ossian the bard!

[2] This was the famous Bran.

[3] It will be found that the Irish of O'Domhnaill has omitted this as well as many other things told by O'Donnell.

whither that stag has fled shall be sacred to him, to whom also, as being bountifully enriched with divine favours and gifts by the supreme God, many churches and much land shall be previously consecrated; and that place will be a most safe asylum for all persons that shall have recourse thereto; as a prognostication of which circumstance my dog, with unusual indulgence towards that animal which has fled thither, stopped short his pace and mitigated his rage.' The stag rendered that place where he crossed the river remarkable by the name of Beatach Damhain, or *the path of the stag*, which name is common down to our time."

The name Beatach Damhain, or *semita cervi*, is yet retained in the name of a *round hill* and *lough* called Croaghballagh*down* and lough Croaghballagh*down*. Finn must have started the deer in that part of the parish of Inisceel lying to the south of Loughros Bay, and pursued him westward across the river of Glen. Lough Croagh Ballaghdown—The name is now distinctly pronounced Beatać Damain, and understood to mean *path of the stag*. There are many such names in Ireland as Céim an Ġabair, *the goat's step*, a difficult pass near Bantry Bay, &c., &c.

There is another place in Glencolumbcille where a battle was fought, according to the Annals.

A.D. 1590. The son of O'Domhnaill (Domhnaill, the son of Aodh) rebelled against his father after the latter had become feeble from age, and while his other son (Aodh ruadh) was confined in Dublin Castle, Domhnaill brought under his jurisdiction that part of Tirconaill from the mountain eastwards, *i.e.*, from Barnesmore to the river Drowis, and also the inhabitants of Boylagh and *Tir Boghaine* (Bannagh). It was a source of great uneasiness and anguish of mind to Ineen dubh, the daughter of Seamus MacDomhnaill of Scotland, the mother of Aodh ruadh, that O'Domhnaill should make such an attempt lest he might attain the chieftainship of Tirconaill before her own son, if it were the will of God that the latter should escape from his captivity in Dublin, and she therefore assembled all the Tirconaillians who were obedient to her husband, viz.:—O'Doghartaigh and his adherents, MacSuibhne na doe and his forces, MacSuibhne Fanaid and his forces and a great body of Scots. As soon as Domhnaill O'Domhnaill heard that this levy had been raised to oppose him he assembled his forces in opposition. Those who rose and assisted him on this occasion were MacSuibhne Bannagh, etc., etc. With these chiefs Domhnaill stationed himself at the extremity of Tir Boghaine (Bannagh), in the west of Glencolumbcille, and the other party made no delay until they arrived at the same place, when a battle ensued, which was fiercely fought on both sides. The Scots discharged a shower of arrows from their elastic bows, by which they wounded great numbers, and among the rest Domhnaill himself, who being therefore unable to display any further

prowess, or bravery, was slain at *Doireleathan*, on one side of the harbour of *Telionn*, on the 14th December, etc., etc.

Doireleathan retains that name to this day, and is a townland bounded on the south by Telion harbour. About a mile from this place there is a valley in the townland of Cashclearn called Lag na gramh, *i.e.*, *hollow of the bones*, where, tradition says, many bodies slain in battle were interred. Might not this be the real site of the engagement? as it is probable that Domhnaill was slain at Derrylahan while attempting to fly on horseback.

So far for Glencolumbcille. But no. We have the authority of the Four Masters for Reaċrain Uí Ḃirn, mentioned above.

"A.D. 1542. The crew of a ship from Iar-connacht harboured in Tirconaill, and committed depredations. The name of the harbour is *Reachrain Muintire Birn*, in *Tir Boghaine*. As soon as Torlogh MacSuibhne had received intelligence of their landing he made an attack upon them, so that none of them escaped to bring home news of what had happened, excepting their chief and captain, the son of O'Flaitbeartaigh, to whom MacSuibhne granted pardon and protection, and whom he sent home in safety to Conmiaicne mara (now Connemara)."

I would recommend this island and the little harbour opposite to be called the same name with the Antrim island, adding —— obirne.

Many of the Connacht families have emigrated hither from the opposite coast, as the O'Haras, O'Maillies, O'Birns.

On looking over the extracts sent to O'Keefe, I find that Aodh Brecain (?) is set down in the calendar at the 10th of November.

Aoḋ mac Ḃric Eps ó cill áir i Mide Ro ṡluaḋ Liag ittir Ḃ Foccaire i ccineł Ḋaill. Aois Criṡt an tan ro faoiḋ a ṡpiorad do ċum nime 588.

"Aodh, the son of Brec, bishop of Killara, in Meath, and of Slialh Leag, in Tir bfoghaine in Tirconaill, the age of Christ when his spirit went to heaven, 588."

Tir Ḃfoccaire is mistaken for Tir Ḃoġaine (Tir Ḃoccaine.)

I hope that all these hallowed places are carefully set down on the plans of the parish of Columbcille, as they will appear very conspicuous on the map of so wild a parish. The *tree*, the grave of Kirk, all the holy wells, and all the ruins should be shown and their names given. The theatre of the solemn pilgrimage of Columbcille, which extended for three miles along the glen, should be shown, such as the hole made by the bell when it fell from the sky, the ruins of the monastery, and all the wells and other footsteps of the saint and his followers, the pilgrims. Man looks with veneration upon every spot that has been hallowed by sincere religion, and feels anxious (when possessed of true learning) to preserve every *trace* by which the *turas* of the

pilgrim and the progress of the human mind in art, religion, or enthusiasm can be followed.[1]

The inhabitants of these glens and mountains are fair specimens of what the Irish were in times of yore. They have few ideas of comfort; the smoky cabin of the cottier is, perhaps, not much less comfortable than the slated house of the grocer or the leather cutter; the potatoes that grow in the home or the bog serves them for food; and if they can procure buttermilk for *kitchan* it is deemed a luxury; everything else (eggs, butter, oats, pigs, sheep, etc.) has to be sold to make the rent. Their condition is worse now than in ancient times, for then they had little or no rent to pay except a few methers of butter in the year, and the population being but small they were well able to live upon the corn produced by the rich spots in the mountains and glens, and upon the milk and flesh of the cattle fed upon the mountains, adding now and again the *creach* or *preys* carried off in triumph from their lowland neighbours. Fish also was a great source of support. Their present comfortless condition and their religion render them moral.

In this district is a place called Léim a' Ġabha, the Goat's Leap.

Donegal, 25 Oct., 1835.

St. *Naalis* is yet remembered as the patron of the parish of *Inver*, and I think his name should be postfixed to it as well as in Kilnawley, in Fermanagh, of which he is likewise the patron. In an inquisition taken at Lifford in the 7th of James I., it appears that the jurors did, "uppon theire oathes, say and present that in the said baronie (Tirew, but wrong) is also the parish of *Enivernale*, containing in all three Ballybetaghs, whereof half a quarter is church land, and is now in the possession of the bishop of Raphoe, and that the usual rent thereof is fiftie meathers of butter and thirteene shillings and fourpence Irish, in monie," etc., etc.

There is a pool at Inver Bay (into which cattle are driven to remove some diseases) yet retaining the name of this saint, and also a townland called Lag Naile. The following is nearly all that Colgan could collect about his life:—

"There are not wanting other very weighty testimonies of the great sanctity of St. Natalis, or Naalis, and the solemn veneration formerly paid to him in different parts of this kingdom. For some of our menologies relate that he, by merit, derived the fountain of his faith from the rock, and that he is venerated on the 27th of January with solemn festivity and the honour due to a patron at three places, where he discharged the office of abbot. These places are the church of Inber-Naile, in the country of Tirconaill; the church of Cill Naile, in the territory of Breffni" (rather Fermanagh); "and

[1] What a heritage we would have had if O'Donovan's advice had been followed.—ED.

the monastery of *Damh-inis*, in the government of which he is said to have succeeded St. Molassius. He was the son of Angus, king of Munster, and of Ethnea, the daughter of Crimthan, king of Leinster."

There is a very remarkable valley in this parish, which I find mentioned by the Four Masters under the years 1502-1564 and 1616.

"1564. Marauding parties of O'Neill's army sallied forth through Tir Boghaine (Bannagh), and slew Maolmuire, the son of MacSuibhne, and several others in the valley of *Gleann Eidhnighe*."

"1502. The battle of *Tulach Fionn* in *Gleann Eidhnighe*, fought between the O'Baoigil."

"1616. Niall O'Baoigil, bishop of Raphoe, died at *Gleann Eidhnighe* on the 6th of February, and was interred at *Inis Caoil' (Inis ceel)*.

Like Glenfinn and Glensoolie, this glen derives its name from its river, which is now anglicized *Eany*, but which I fear has been set down on the plan as Inver river. If you look at the plans of Inver parish you will see this *Glen Eidhnighe*, well defined by its river and the mountain runnels that descend into it, all of which fall in one body of water into Inver Bay, midway between Duncongaile and Mount Charles. The small streams will show the small mountain glens that intersect it, while the source of the main stream will point out its *head*, and the source of the minor streams on either side of the latter are sure to show its breadth. To tell you this is needless. I should have said no more than that I am most anxious to preserve the name of this glen on the map by calling its river *Eany water*, which is the only name prevalent among the people. Inver is the mouth of a river.

Tulach Fionn is a townland nearly in the centre of *Gleann Eidhnighe*.

Donegal, 24 Oct., 1835.

The general tradition in the county is that Killybegs is dedicated to St. Catherine, which shows there must have been a nunnery there, though we have no record that mentions it.

Of Killybegs, Ware says:—"A small house was built here for friars of the third order of St. Francis, by MacSuibhne Bannig" (Bannagh).

The name of the place, however, shows that there must have been several *little churches* here, for the name of the harbour is Cuan na g-ceall mbeag (the harbour of the small churches), and of the village Na Cealla Beaga (the small churches).

The following passage in the Annals of the Four Masters corroborates the tradition at present prevalent among the people:—

"A.D. 1513. Owen O'Maile came by night with three ships to the harbour of Killybegs; and the chiefs of the county, being all at that time in O'Domhnaill's army, his men plundered and burned the town, and took many prisoners in it. On their return they were overtaken by a storm, so that they

were compelled to remain on the coast of the country; and they lighted fires and torches near their ships. They were attacked by Brian, a young and heroic man of the MacSuibhne, and by the son of Brian Mac-an-Easboig O'Gallcobhair, and a party of *Sgologues*[1] and shepherds, who made a vigorous charge upon them, slew Eoghan O'Maile and one hundred of his people, and deprived them of two ships, and, through the miraculous interposition of God and *Saint Catherine*, whose town they had profaned, the prisoners were rescued from them.

By this I suppose he meant *petty farmers*. The family of MacSgologue now translate their name "Farmer."

What St. Catherine was this? The peasantry say that she was an Irish saint, but I think she must have been a continental foundress of an order of nuns. Have we any work that will decide this point?

The village of Duncaneely derives its name from an earthern fort which lies to the west of it. The Irish is Dún ṁic Cioṅfaolaiḋ (the fort of MacAneely), who might be the same that tradition remembers to have been beheaded by Balor, and to have left name to Cloghan Aolaig. There is, however, a family in the parish and village called MacNeely, and the fort might have been named from being on the land and near the residence of one of their ancestors. Among what clann, dal, sliocht, corc, siol, or kinel does MacFirbis and the Book of Lecan place the name Mac Ʒonṙaolaiḋ? It is now generally anglicized Macginlay, and the family is very numerous in the south-west of Tirconaill.

The following passages in the Annals show that there was a castle near this village, though not marked on Norden's map:—

"A.D. 1524. MacSuibhne of *Tir-Boghaine* (Bannagh), of whom a glorious character is given, died, after being anointed and performing penance in his own castle of *Rathain*, on the 14th of December.

"1535. MacSuibhne of Tir Boghaine was treacherously slain by his own brother on the threshold of *Rathaine-Mac-Suibhne*, on the festival day of ss. Peter and Paul."

Rathain is now anglicized Rahin, and is a townland in the parish of Killaghtee, verging on the MacSuibhne Bay.

The Annals mention also another castle in the same neighbourhood.

"A.D. 1547. MacSuibhne Baghaineach was slain on the 3rd of September by the sons of his own brother. They murdered him while imprisoned in the new *Bawn*, in revenge of the death of their father," etc.

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[1] Old Charles O'Connor of Ballanagare, writing to his brother, an officer in the Irish Brigade, says:—"I have reclaimed my mountain lands, and planted some half-dozen of *sgologues* upon them."

"A.D. 1577. Dubhgleite, the son of Niall oge MacSuibhne of Tir Boghaine, was slain at the *Badhun Maol* by Domhnaill oge, the son of Maolmuire. This Dubhgleite was a renowned and well-shaped man, dexterous in his hand, and a man of hospitality."

This *Badhbhdhun*, or Bawn-moile, probably stood in the townland of Bawan, in the parish of Kilcar, and left its name upon it.

At the year 1550 the annalists mention a place called Baile *MacSuibhne*, but by this they meant his principal residence (which in those days was styled his *Baile* or town) at the MacSuibhne bay, not far from the village of Duncongaile. Norden shows a house or castle at *Telion* harbour, but I can find no reference to it in the Annals.

(To be continued.)

Memorials of the Patriot Dead.

MACCORLY—DICKSON—MACCRACKEN.

I am able to record further good work done this year in suitably marking the burial-places of Ulster patriots.

There has been cut upon the old MacCorly tombstone in Duneane churchyard, near Toome-bridge, the following inscription :—

Rody MacCorly
who died on the bridge of Toome
Good Friday 1799
ꝺo eíꞃunn
[*for Ireland*]

This is simple, but effective. There are two old family stones, and this has been cut on the sandstone one. Both have been cleaned and set upright. Rody's grave is the most frequently visited of the spots in old Duneane. The larger public monument to be erected near the site of Rody's hanging at Toome-bridge is not forgotten, meantime his simple grave has been suitably marked.

A simple slab has been erected in the cemetery in Clifton Street, Belfast, to record the burial of the rev. doctor William Steel Dickson, whose *Narrative* is well known. For well nigh ninety years this sacred spot had no memorial. A few flowers now and again pointed it out. Now a permanent memorial has been raised to mark where

this intrepid presbyterian minister was laid to rest. It bears the following inscription, cut most appropriately on an old Scrabo stone :—

William Steel Dickson
patriot · preacher · historian
Born at Carnmoney 1744
Died at Belfast 27 Dec. 1824.
ꝺo ċum onoꞃa na h-eíꞃéann
[*for the honour of Erin*]

In the same cemetery, on the MacCracken plot, we have set up a fine rough block of Mountcharles stone, with a smooth sloping face. On it has been cut the following inscription :—

Mary Anne MacCracken
the beloved sister of
Henry Joy MacCracken
Born 8 July 1770
Wept by her brother's scaffold
17 July 1798
Died 26 July 1866
ꝺíleaꞃ . ʒo . h—éaʒ
[*true till death*].

At the time of erecting this monument there was also carried out a long cherished desire to place here the bones removed from the old churchyard in High street. In 1902, during building operations there, the grave believed to be that of Henry Joy MacCracken was exposed. Robert May, of Belfast, carefully and reverently collected the bones and preserved them for this opportunity of giving them proper burial in a place never likely to be again disturbed. They were placed in a suitable strong oak coffer, and buried beside the monument. A hermetically sealed phial was placed in the coffer, with the following inscription written on parchment :—

"These bones were dug up in the old graveyard in High street in 1902, and from several circumstances are believed to be those of Henry Joy MacCracken. They were reverently treated and placed here by Robert May, of Belfast, 12 May, 1909, when the monument was placed to the memory of his beloved sister."

No true Irishman or woman will undervalue this practical work that has now been carried out. In Ulster we have done well these last ten years in marking the graves of those "who died and passed

away" in the love of their country. There is still more to be done, however. Great kindness was shown and assistance given by E. W. Pim, J.P., the worthy honorary secretary of the Belfast Charitable society, the custodians of the cemetery.

I will be glad to receive and acknowledge subscriptions from any friend who desires to help me to defray the expenses incurred at the Dickson and MacCracken graves; those incurred at Duneane have already been met by friends at Toome. This would help me to undertake more similar work. FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

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By JOHN S. CRONE.

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[REFERENCES :—A.A.C. = A. Albert Campbell ; A.C.B. = Assembly's College, Belfast ; B.M. = British Museum ; C. = Compiler (Dr. John S. Crone) ; D. = E. R. M'C. Dix ; D.T. = Delmege Trimble ; J.J.M. = J. J. Marshall ; L.H.B. = Linen Hall Library, Belfast ; M. = Robert M'Kee ; M.C.D. = Magee College, Derry ; N.F.L. = Newry Free Library ; P.H.S. = Presbyterian Historical Society, Belfast ; R.C.P.I. = Royal College of Physicians, Ireland ; R.I.A. = Royal Irish Academy ; T.C.D. = Trinity College, Dublin ; W.T.L. = Rev. W. T. Latimer.]

TO The RIGHT HONOURABLE JOHN O'NEILL. this View of the TOWN & HARBOUR of BELFAST is respectfully Presented by his Obliged & Obed^t Hb^r Servant John Nixon.

The National Volunteers of Ireland, 1782.

COMPILED BY FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

THE following particulars are taken from a rare book in the library at Ardrigh (for which my grandfather, David Bigger, was a subscriber), entitled—*The Volunteer's Companion, Printed for W. Colles, No. 17 New Buildings, Dame Street, Dublin, MDCCLXXXIV.* The names and particulars here copied are given as a list of subscribers to the book, and are particularly valuable as denoting not only the names of many volunteers, but particulars of the regiments and details of their uniforms. The major portion of the book is taken up with instructions in drilling and manœuvres, with numerous copper-plates. Bound up with the book is a copy of "The patriot soldier or Irish volunteer, a poem by a member of the Belfast Irish Volunteer Company. Printed for the author by J. & W. Magee, at the Bible and Crown, No. 9 Bridge Street, Belfast, MDCCLXXXIX." I have added notes and extracts, and made corrections from my own traditional information.

LIST OF IRISH VOLUNTEERS.

N.B.—Those denoted by a star were members of the National Convention at Dungannon.

Commander-in-chief—The earl of Charlemont, Kt. St. Pk.

Generals:

Duke of Leinster, Kt. St. Pk.
*Earl of Aldborough.
*Sir Wm. Parsons, bart.
*Sir Barry Denny, bart.
*Rt. hon. George Ogle.
*Rt. hon. Henry King.
*Sir Js. Stratford Tynte, bart.

First Volunteers of Ireland—Associated 1 July, 1766. Scarlet, faced blue. *Col. sir Vefey Colclough, bart.

Kilkenny Rangers—Associated 2 Jan., 1770. Green, with silver lace. *Colonel Mossom, *major Wemys.

1st Magherafelt Volunteers—Associated June, 1773. Scarlet, faced black. Captain A. Tracy, lt. Richard Dawson, ensign R. Montgomery.

Offerlane Blues—Associated 10 October, 1773. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. *Colonel Luke Flood. Memb.—James Price, Js. Humphreys.

Rosanalle's Volunteers—Associated 1 July, 1774. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. Colonel Richard Croasdall, Major George Sandes, Capts. L. Sandes, J. Sabatier, A. Johnston, Lieut. William Tracey.

Independent Wexford Light Dragoons—Associated the Autumn of 1775. Scarlet, faced blue. Colonel John Beauman.

Parson's Town Loyal Independents—Associated 15 February, 1776. Scarlet faced black; silver lace. * Colonel sir Wm. Parsons, bart., Major L. Parsons, Captain B. B. Warbuton, Lieuts. Edw. Tracey, — Kearny, Surgeon Wm. Wilkinson.

Rathdowney Volunteers—Associated February, 1776. Scarlet, faced white. * Colonel F. Palmer.

Glin Royal Artillery—Associated April, 1776. Blue, faced blue; scarlet cuffs and capes; gold lace. * Col. F. Fitzgerald, Kt. of Glin; Lieut-col. Thos. Burgess.

Tipperary Volunteers—Associated 1 May, 1776. Scarlet, faced black; silver lace. Captain James Roe.

Maryborough Volunteers—Associated May, 1776. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel sir J. Parnell, bart.

Limerick Independents—Associated September, 1776. Scarlet, faced green; silver lace. * Colonel John Prendergast, * Major C. Powel.

Tyrrell's Pass Volunteers—Associated in 1776. Grey, faced scarlet; silver lace. * Capt. hon. Robert Moore.

Edenderry Union—Associated 1 May, 1777. Scarlet, faced black. Captain Shaw Cartland, Digby Berkeley.

Aldborough Legion—Associated August, 1777. Scarlet, faced black; silver lace. * Colonel earl of Aldborough.

Limavady Battalion—Associated 7 November, 1777. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel James Boyle.

New Ross Independents—Associated 17 November, 1777. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel B. Elliot.

Drogheda Association—Associated in 1777. Scarlet, faced pomona green; gold laced hats. * Colonel Mead Ogle, * Lt.-col. H. Montgomery Lyons, Major William Chesshire, Captain Oliver Fairtlough, Captain lt. Wm. Holmes, Lieutenant John Ackland; Membs.—Roche de F. Jord, Wm. O. Fairtlough.

Dunlavin Light Dragoons—Associated in 1777. White, faced black; silver lace. * Colonel M. Saunders, Captain Charles Oulton.

Roxborough Volunteers—Associated in 1777. Scarlet, faced blue; silver epaulets. * Colonel William Perse.

Barony Rangers—Associated 17 March, 1778. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Andrew Armstrong, Captain Robt. Shervington.

Aughrim Corps of Cork—Associated 17 March, 1778. Scarlet, faced scarlet, edged white. Major Edward Jameson, Captain Samuel Rowland, Bartho. Creagh.

Belfast First Volunteer Company—Associated 17 March, 1778. Scarlet, faced black. Captain Waddel Cunningham, John Elliot.

Belfast Volunteer Company—Associated 6 April, 1778. Blue, faced blue; laced hats. Captain Brown.

Belfast Union—Associated 12 June, 1778. Scarlet, faced blue. Captain Lyons.

Dungiven Battalion—Associated 14 June, 1778. Scarlet, faced black. Major Thomas Bond, Captain Thomas Fanning.

Derry Fuzileers—Associated 14 June, 1778. Scarlet, faced blue. Adjutant Henry Delap, E. C. Mayne.

Raphoe Battalion—Associated 1 July, 1778. Scarlet, faced blue. * Lt.-col. Nisbitt.

Duleek Light Company—Associated July, 1778. Scarlet, faced black. * Captain Thomas Trotter.

Tullow Rangers—Associated 10 August, 1778. Scarlet, faced black; white buttons. Captain Whelan.

Castle Durrow Light Horse—Associated August, 1778. Green, edged white. Captain Richard Lawrenson.

Dublin Volunteers—Associated 6 October, 1778. Blue, faced blue, edged scarlet; yellow buttons. Colonel duke of Leinster, Lt.-col. H. Monck, * Captain N. Warren, Lieutenant E. Medlicott, Adjutant William Osbrey. Members—B. Hamilton, Wm. Gilbert, Rd. Stapleton, Chs. Bournes.

Ennis Volunteers—Associated 12 October, 1778. Scarlet, faced black. * Col. William Blood.

Echlin Vale Volunteers—Associated 19 October, 1778. Scarlet, faced white. Captain Charles Echlin.

Tullamore True Blue Rangers—Associated 28 October, 1778. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. * Col. Chs. Wm. Bury.

Monastereven Volunteers—Associated October, 1778. Scarlet, faced white. Houlton Anderson.

Mote Light Infantry—Associated in 1778. Scarlet, faced sea green. * Col. sir H. Lynch Blosse, bart.

Castle Mount Garrett Volunteers—Associated in 1778. Scarlet, faced deep green. * Col. D. G. Browne, lieut. John Henry.

Liney Volunteers—Associated in 1778. Scarlet, faced blue. * Major George Dodwell.

Barony of Forth Corps—Associated 1 January, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue: Major Hughs.

Charleville Infantry—Associated 4 January, 1779. Blue, faced scarlet. Colonel Chidley Coote.

Royal Tralee Volunteers—Associated 7 January, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; gold lace. * Col. sir Barry Denny, bart.

Castlebar Independents—Associated 17 March, 1779. Scarlet, faced deep green. Col. P. Ran. MacDonnell.

Goldsmith's Corps—Associated 17 March, 1779. Blue, faced scarlet; gold lace. Captain Ben. O'Brien.

Callen Union—Associated 1 April, 1779. Green, edged white. * Captain Elliott.

Carrickfergus Company—Associated 3 April, 1779. Scarlet, faced pea green. Captain Marriot Dalway, captain lieut. Rice.

Waterford Royal Battalion—Associated 25 April, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue. Major com. Wm. Alcock, * captain Robert Shapland Carew.

Waterford Artillery. Captain Joshua Paul.

Lawyers Corps—Associated April, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; gold lace. Col. Townly Patten Filgate. Members—Sir E. Crosbie, bart.; A. N. Pedder, Geo. Powell, W. Ransford, Ed. Westby, J. D. Hammond, George Smith. Ed. Hudson.

Lawyers Artillery. Captain Wm. Holt.

Belfast Battalion—Associated April, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Stewart Banks, major Brown.

Finea Independents—Associated 1 May, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue. Colonel Coyne Nugent.

Craig (Queen's County) Volunteers—Associated 1 May, 1779. Blue, faced scarlet; silver lace. * Colonel B. Bagnell.

Roscommon Independent Forresters—Associated 1 May, 1779. Scarlet, faced green. Colonel R. Waller, lt.-col. Thos. MacDermott, major Ed. Dowling, sir Watkin Lewis, colonel of the London association.

Loyal Sligo Volunteers—Associated 25 May, 1779. Scarlet, faced white. Lieut.-col. Ormsby.

Eyre Court Buffs—Associated 1 June, 1779. Scarlet, faced buff; gold epaulets. Colonel Giles Eyre, captain Stephen Blake.

Merchants Corps—Associated 9 June, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; gold lace. Capts. Theos. Dixon, C. M. MacMahon. Members—* Benj. Wills, Erasmus Grace, H. Lanauze, Theo. Billing, John Blacker, Frans. Minchin, Mar. Taylor, John Magee, John Cash.

Merchants Artillery. Captain George Maquay.

Kilkenny Volunteers—Associated 10 June, 1779. Blue, faced scarlet; gold lace. * Colonel Thomas Butler, * lt.-col. Knaresbrough, capts. Laffan, Shanahan, Purcell, lieuts. Duffy, MacLoughlin, Way, Shearman, ensign Davis.

Dunkerrin Volunteers—Associated 20 June, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Colonel J. F. Rolleston.

Rathdown (County of Dublin) Light Dragoons—Associated June, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Col. sir J. A. Johnson, bart.; James Farren.

French Park Light Horse—Associated June, 1779. Scarlet, faced black, edged white; gold lace. Lt.-col. Ed. MacDermott, lieut. Owen MacDermott.

Castledurrow Volunteers—Associated 1 July, 1779. Green, edged white; silver lace. Captain Bathorn.

Wicklow Forresters—Associated 1 July, 1779. Scarlet, faced light blue. * Colonel Samuel Hayes, captain Thomas King, captain Andrew Prior.

Ossory True Blues—Associated 1 July, 1779. Scarlet, edged blue. Colonel Edward Flood, major Robert Palmer.

Loyal Ballina and Ardnaree Volunteers—Associated 1 July, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Col. right hon. Henry King, major Henry Cary.

Ballintemple Forresters—Associated 12 July, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue. Captain Stewart.

Trim Infantry—Associated 12 July, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Captain W. H. Finlay, secretary Ed. Malone.

Bantry Volunteers—Associated 12 July, 1779. Scarlet, faced black, edged white. Francis Hoskin.

Roscrea Blues—Associated 21 July, 1779 Blue, faced blue; gold lace. Colonel L. Parsons.

Liberty Volunteers—Associated July, 1779. Scarlet, faced pea green. * Colonel sir Edward Newenham, captain Edward Newenham, John Busby.

Liberty Artillery. Captain James Napper Tandy.

Borris in Ossery Rangers—Associated 1 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced black; silver epaulets. * Capt. com. Js. Stephens, lt. Erasmus Burrowes, ensign Walter Stephens.

Kile Volunteers—Associated 1 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. * Colonel Charles White.

Glenboy and Killemat Regiment—Associated 1 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. * Colonel Cullen.

Ross Union Rangers—Associated 1 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced green. Colonel Drake.

Mountain Rangers—Associated 15 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Bernard, major George Clarke, captain John Drought.

Eglish Rangers—Associated 29 August, 1779. Scarlet, faced black; silver epaulets. Major Thos. Berry, capt. John Drought, lt. and adj. J. Clarke.

County of Dublin Light Dragoons—Associated August, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Captain Everard.

Carrick-on-Shannon Infantry—Associated August, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue. Lt.-col. Peyton.

Dunmore Rangers—Associated August, 1779. Green, edged white. Col. sir Robert Staples, bart.

County of Carlow Legion—Associated 1 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced lemon colour. * Colonel J. Rochfort, major Henry Bunbury.

Carlow Association—Associated 1 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Lt. and adj. T. Proctor.

Blue Battalion of the Ulster Regiment—Associated 3 September, 1779. Blue, faced scarlet. Major Robert Burden, lieut. George Tandy.

Rockingham Volunteers—Associated 7 September, 1779. Blue, faced blue, edged scarlet; yellow buttons. * Colonel Nixon, major Chamney, Thos. Chamney.

Orior Grenadiers—Associated 13 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Capt. James Dawson.

Arlington Light Cavalry—Associated 18 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced green; yellow buttons. Captain Geo. Gore, * lt. John Warburton, cornet Jonathan Chetwood, treasurer Jonathan Clarke, secretary Pat. Browne. Members—John Bonesous, John Kelly, Edward Crow, Geo. Fawsett, Geo. Kelly, Wm. Newcomb, Geo. Harrison, Richard Clarke, John Adair, Geo. Phelan, David Clarke, Dennis Kelly, Wm. Scott.

Portarlington Infantry—Associated 18 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced yellow; silver lace. Maj. com. W. H. Legrand, capts. James Stannus, Henry Cary, ensign Annesley Cary, qr.-master J. Beauchant, Edw. Geoghegan.

Ross Volunteer Guards—Associated 20 September, 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Capt. lieut. H. T. Houghton.

Clane Rangers—Associated September, 1779. Scarlet, faced white. * Capt. Michael Aylmer.

Kilcullen Rangers—Associated September, 1779. Scarlet, faced white. * Captain Keating. Members—J. Morris, G. Macartney.

Athy Volunteers—Associated September, 1779. Scarlet, faced white. Ebenezer Geale.

Athy Independents—Associated September, 1779. Scarlet, faced white Captain Robert Johnson.

Fartullagh Rangers—Associated 1 October, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue. Nicholas Gay.

Wexford Independent Volunteers—Associated 4 October, 1779. Scarlet faced black. Capt. and adj. Miller Clifford, serjeant Gird.

Stradbally Volunteers—Associated 12 October, 1779. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. Colonel Thos. Cosby.

Willsborough Volunteers—Associated October, 1779. Dark green, edged white. Colonel Thos. Wills, major Owen Young.

Upper Cross and Coolock—Associated October, 1779. Scarlet, faced black Denis Lawler.

Kells Association—Associated 1 November, 1779. Scarlet, faced green. Lt.-col. Benj. Morris.

Waterford Union—Associated 6 November, 1779. Scarlet, faced green. Surgeon Sam Lamphire. Members—* Wm. Morris, Humphry Jones, John Brown, Thos. Alcock, John Newport.

Strokestown Light Horse—Associated November, 1779. Scarlet, faced yellow. Major Gilbert Conry.

Naas Rangers—Associated 10 December, 1779. Scarlet, faced white. * Capt. commandant R. Neville.

Killivan Volunteers—Associated 25 December, 1779. Scarlet, faced green. Major Wm. Smith.

Rafoord Brigade (Light Cavalry)—Associated 26 December, 1779. Scarlet, edged blue; gold lace. Colonel Dennis Daly, Pat. Manning.

Edgeworthstown Battalion—Associated in 1779. Blue, faced scarlet. * Col. sir W. G. Newcomen, bart.

Lowtherstown and Ballinamallard Volunteers—Associated in 1779. Scarlet, faced black. * Colonel Wm. Irvine.

Longford Light Horse—Associated in 1779. Buff, faced black. * Colonel H. Nisbit.

Ballyleek Rangers—Associated in 1779. Scarlet, faced white; gold lace. * Colonel John Montgomery.

Kilcooly True Blues—Associated in 1779. Blue, faced white. * Col. sir Wm. Barker, bart.

Borris Volunteers—Associated in 1779. Scarlet, faced black. Colonel Kavanagh.

Monaghan Rangers—Associated 10 January, 1780. Scarlet, faced white. Colonel William Forster.

Leap Independents—Associated 17 March, 1780. Blue, faced blue; edged white. * Col. Jonathan Darby.

Independent Dublin Volunteers—Associated 24 April, 1780. Scarlet, faced dark green; gold lace hats. * Col. Wm. Thos. Smyth, major Samuel Canier, captain Collins, ensign Paul Ham. Members—Richard Greene, Ben. Clarke, Sisson Darling, Christ. Rigney, R. Dempsy, doctor Morpie, J. Halpen.

1st Tyrone Regiment—Associated July, 1780. Scarlet, faced deep blue. * Colonel Js. Stewart, * lt.-col. Charlton.

Union Light Dragoons (City of Dublin)—Associated 12 September, 1780. Scarlet, faced green. * Capt. comdt. R. Cornwall, * lt. J. Talbot Ashenburst.

Talbotstown Invincibles—Associated December, 1780. Scarlet, faced deep green. * Col. N. Westby, major John Smith, lieut. F. W. Greene.

Glorious Memory Battalion—Associated in 1780. Scarlet, faced grass green. * Col. T. Morris Jones.

Cork Independent Artillery—Associated 17 March, 1781. Blue, faced scarlet ; gold lace. Col. Richard Hare.

Belfast Light Dragoons—Associated 26 March, 1781. Scarlet, faced green ; silver lace. Capt. Burden. Members—F. Jordan, J. Ferguson.

Builders' Corps—Associated 4 November, 1781. Blue, faced blue ; edged scarlet. Colonel Read.

Society Volunteers of Derry—Associated 17 March, 1782. Scarlet, faced blue. Capt. Wm. Moore.

Larne Independents—Associated April, 1782. Scarlet, faced blue. Capt. White.

Granard Infantry, Union Brigade—Associated 1 May, 1782. Scarlet, faced blue. Capt. J. E. Hamilton.

Irigh Brigade—Associated 5 June, 1782. Scarlet, faced grass green ; silver lace. Capt. Charles Abbott. Members—N. Le Favre, J. Weldon, W. H. Archer.

Clanricarde Brigade—Associated June, 1782. Scarlet, faced blue. * Major Darcy.

Aghavoe Loyals—Associated 1 July, 1782. Scarlet, faced blue. Capt. Robert White.

Rathangan Union—Associated 2 August, 1782. Scarlet, faced white. Capt. Wm. Montgomery.

Fingal Light Dragoons—Associated 27 June, 1783. Scarlet, faced white. * Capt. Thomas Baker.

Tully Ash Real Volunteers—Associated 15 October, 1783. Scarlet, faced black ; silver lace. Col. T. Dawson Laurence, capt. A. Dawson Laurence.

Aughnacloy Battalion. Scarlet, faced white. Col. P. Alexander.

Ashfield Volunteers. Blue, faced blue. * Capt. H. Clements.

Arran Phalanx. Scarlet, faced white. Lieut. Fred. Gore.

Constitution Regiment (C. Down). Scarlet, faced yellow. Capt. — Ford, * capt. Gawin Hamilton.

Dundalk Horse. Scarlet, faced green. * J. W. Foster.

Dromore Volunteers (Co. Kerry). Scarlet, faced green. * Col. John Mahony.

Imokilly Horse (Co. Cork). White, edged scarlet. * Col. Roche.

1st Independent Down Regiment. Blue, faced orange. * Lt.-col. Stewart.

Independent Enniskilliners. Scarlet, faced black. * Capt. Js. Armstrong.

Limerick Cavalry. Scarlet, faced blue; silver lace. James Sexton.

Lisburn Fuzileers. Scarlet, faced blue. Lt. John Kenby.

Mitchelstown Dragoons. Scarlet, faced black. * Col. lord Kingsborough.

1st Royal Regiment (County of Antrim). Scarlet, faced blue; gold lace. Major A. MacManus.

1st Ulster Regiment. Scarlet, faced white. * Col. earl of Charlemont, lt.-cols. * sir W. Synnot, * rt. honourable Wm. Brownlow, C. M'Causland, capt. G. W. Molyneux.

Ralphsdale Light Dragoons. Scarlet, faced yellow. Capt. John Tandy.

4th Ulster Regiment. Scarlet, faced blue. * Col. R. MacClintock.

Ulster Regiment Artillery. Blue, faced scarlet. Capt. Tho. Ward.

Union Light Dragoons (County Meath). Scarlet, faced green. Capt. G. Lucas Nugent.

1st Down Regiment (2 Battalions). * Col. Stewart.

Glendermot Battalion. Col. George Ash.

Lecale Battalion (County Down). Lieut. Charles Macarthy.

Muskerry True Blue Light Dragoons. Lt.-col. R. Hutchinson.

Skreen Corps. Lord Killeen.

3d Ulster Regiment. Lt.-col. Wm. Ross.

Thomas Acton, * Samuel Alleyn, Robert Ahmuty.

Earl of Bristol, col. Richard Bourke, lieut. Bourns, 81st regt.; James Barton, Pat. Byrne [The bookseller of Sheares Armstrong fame].

Rt. hon. Joshua Cooper, capt. C. Cary, late 72d regiment.

Thomas Drought, * Henry D'Esterre, Isaac Aug. D'Arripe, late a captain in the 15th infantry; capt. Andrew Despard, late Liverpool regiment; Andrew De la Cour, late lieut.-colonel to the 61st regiment.

Daniel Eccles, senr.

Wm. Gray, m.d., Lieut. John Grogan, royal Irish dragoons; Amyas Griffith, of Belfast, late a lieutenant in the Carbery independents.

Rev. Richard Handcock, dean of Achonry; Samuel Hunter, John Hickman.

Cook Lucas.

Humphry Minchin.

Maurice O'Connor.

* Col. Pery, Hugh Parker, town major of Dublin.

Rev. Peter Roe, Mark Ransford, capt. Robinson, royal British artillery.

Hon. lieut. col. Southwell, 8th light dragoons; Thos. Stewart, bookseller and military stationer.

Rogers Taylor, late of the north Coolock corps.

A. Vincent.

John Wallace, — Wilder, merchant; sir Wm. Wolseley, bart.

There were a few more subscribers, whose names were entered in a subscription book that was lost, and notwithstanding the compiler had several advertisements in the papers, requesting the gentlemen, who had put down their names *in that book*, to make another return, he could not collect the whole; which he hopes will plead his excuse for any omission: He likewise begs leave to inform the subscribers, that the cavalry and infantry not being entered separately, and the dates of the associations and uniforms of many of the corps being omitted, was occasioned by his not having received returns, in the manner requested.

Subscribers' names that came too late for insertion in their proper places:—

Colonel Walter Lambert, Aughrim light horse; scarlet, faced pea green.
Major John Smith, Talbotstown invincibles.
Thomas Montgomery Blair, Wicklow association artillery; blue, faced scarlet.

The following extracts I have collected from various sources, more especially a rare book of my grand-uncle (James Bigger, a volunteer, who was at Dungannon), entitled, "A compleat collection of the resolutions of the volunteers, etc," Dublin, 1782; also "Historical collections relative to the town of Belfast," Belfast, 1817; and the *Belfast News-Letter*. They are mostly local, and explain some of the actions of the different volunteers set out in the list, giving a very good idea of the objects and liberality of thought of the volunteers of Belfast and surrounding districts.

FRANCIS JOSEPH BIGGER.

Belfast, April, 1778.

In our last we mentioned, that on Monday se'n night, a vessel of about 250 tons burthen, supposed to be an American privateer, had that night sailed round the Drake sloop of war lying in this harbour, and afterwards sheered off. She again appeared in the harbour upon Friday morning last and dropped anchor at a small distance from the Drake with the intention of falling alongside of her, in which being disappointed by the top sails backing, they thought proper to cut their cable and sheer off. The Drake thereon gave her chase and engaged her about mid-channel, between Donaghadee and the Scotch shore—but after an obstinate engagement of 43 minutes the sloop was obliged to strike, being of much inferior force to the privateer, as she mounted only 20 guns, 4 pounders, and the privateer 18 guns, 6 pounders; and a considerable part of her crew consisting of newly impressed men.

It having been apprehended that the principal object of the privateer was to take the brig Draper, lying in the pool of Garmoyle, with a very valuable

cargo of linen cloth, a number of soldiers were sent down to her, and every other necessary precaution taken.

The spirited conduct of mr. Dobbs, first lieutenant of the Defiance man of war, merits a much higher ecomium than the nature of this publication will admit of; and will it is hoped meet that reward it is so well entitled to. This gentleman knowing the infirm state of the captain's health, and also the want of officers on board the Drake, (the first lieutenant and boatswain having died some days before) went on board after she was under way, and assisted in fighting her until he was disabled by a dangerous wound.

For the further satisfaction of our readers we insert the underneath copy of an affidavit made before the rev. Richard Dobbs:—

John Marks, of Georges Quay, Dublin, seaman, came before me this day and made oath that he belonged to the ship lord Chatham of Dublin, and was taken near Wicklow on Thursday the 16th inst. by the Ranger privateer, capt. Jones of Portsmouth in Piscataway, America, mounting 18 six pounders: —deponent also sayeth, they took a sloop and a schooner, and sunk them both; and was informed on board, they had before taken a brig belonging to Waterford, which they sunk also:—deponent also sayeth, that on Friday the 24th instant, about six in the evening, they were engaged by his majesty's sloop Drake, captain Burdon mounting 20 four pounders, which after a hot and incessant fire for above half an hour, was obliged to strike, being so much damaged in her masts and rigging that they could not work her, and having her captain and his clerk killed, and lieut. Dobbs and 21 others wounded.

Deponent also sayeth, that on Saturday the 25th inst. they took a brig from Dublin, belonging to Whitehaven; and then resolving to make the best of their way to Brest (their place of rendevous) with their prizes, they permitted deponent and nine others to get on shore in the county of Antrim, and then stood away northward with all the sail they could make; but deponeth thinks they will be greatly delayed by the slow sailing of the Drake, being so much damaged,—deponent also sayeth that the said privateer plundered a lord's house in Scotland; and also confirms the account of burning a ship at Whitehaven and spiking all the cannon there—and further sayeth nought.

Taken before me this 26th April, 1778.

RICHD. DOBBS.

John Marks.

28 June, 1778.—On Sunday last the first Belfast volunteer company paraded, and marched to church in their uniform, which is scarlet, turned up with black velvet, white waistcoat, and breeches. After the sermon, which was delivered by the rev. mr. Graham, a very sensible and politic address was made from the pulpit, in commemoration of that laudable spirit which had so early occasioned the formation of the company, and pointing the very valuable purposes it was calculated to promote. The clothing of the majority of the

company was of Irish manufacture; and the whole made a brilliant and pleasing appearance.

Dublin, 20 August, 1778.

Two letters, of which the following are copies, were received (by express) on Saturday last at Belfast:—

Dublin Castle, 14 August, 1778.

Sir

My lord lieutenant having received information, that there is reason to apprehend three or four privateers in company, may in a few days make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom; by his excellency's command I give you the earliest account thereof, in order that there may be a careful watch, and immediate intelligence given to the inhabitants in and near Belfast, in case any party from such ships should attempt to land.

The greatest part of the troops being encamped near Clonmel and Kinsall, his excellency can at present send no further military force to Belfast, than a troop or two of horse, or part of a company of invalids: And his excellency desires you will acquaint me, by express, whether a troop of horse may be properly accomodated in Belfast, so long as it may be proper to continue them in that town, in addition to the two troops now there.

I have the honour to be, sir

Your most obedient, humble servant

R. J. Heron.

Stewart Banks, Sovereign of Belfast.

Custom House, Dublin, 13 August 1778.

Sir

His excellency the lord lieutenant having received information, that four large privateers, in company, from one of the ports of France, may be expected in a very few days to make attempts on the northern coasts of this kingdom.

In pursuance of his excellency's command, the board direct you, and all your officers, to use every possible means in your power for gaining the earliest intelligence, in case they shall appear in any part of the channel, which you are to transmit to the board by express; and you are to give immediate notice to the inhabitants along the coast, in order that they may be on their guard. By order of the commissioners.

S. Hamilton.

Geo. Macartney Portis, Collector of Belfast.

In consequence of the above letters, several hundred hand-bills were dispersed throughout the town and neighbourhood of Belfast, to the following purport.—"The sovereign request every person having arms, and willing to

oppose any such hostile attempts, to meet him with their arms, on Wednesday morning next the 19th instant, at 10 o'clock forenoon, at the parade field in the mall, in order to concert the most effectual measures to be pursued on this occasion.

"STEWART BANKS, sovereign."

"Belfast, 17th August, 1778."

(Extract of a letter from Belfast, August 18.)

"We are still much alarmed about these same French privateers. The guard is kept up, and mounted by our three companies in rotation.—You must know, we have got a third one, under the command of John Brown:—tis composed mostly of tradesmen, many of whom are really very clever fellows; they have not yet got a regular set of arms; but are obliged to borrow as well as they can. What with relieving guards, mustering, marching and counter marching, and the apprehensions of the women, we have a continued bustle in the streets, that resembles much the buzz of war, in Thurot's time [1760]. Some of our engineers have been surveying ground, to erect a battery to repel any hostile attempt of our presumptious foes—God help us! No other power can. Our government have told us, we must in this dire extremity, shift for ourselves. As any little remains of trade we had in the north, is totally gone, and our manufacturers, who cannot well live without sometimes eating, tis wisely done, thus to cut out work for us.—By alarming our fears, it will undoubtedly lessen the keen calls of hunger and necesity."

Several letters, received this day from Belfast, take not the least notice of any French, or American privateer being seen near that place; the paragraph, therefore, published this morning in Saunders' newspaper, of four large privateers having appeared at the entrance of the lough . . .

[No more.]

Belfast, 1779.

On Wednesday last several letters, dated 1st October, at sea, lat. 42:36, long. 19:0, were received from the Amazon privateer fitted out at this place,* mounting 14 guns six pounders,—from which the following is extracted:—

"On the 17th Septr. at half past eight a.m. she gave chase to a snow mounting 16 guns, with which she came up at half past eight same evening and engaged her four glasses. At five o'clock the next morning saw her again and renewed the chase; but from frequent calms during the day, did not gain upon her till six in the evening. At eight fell in with a ship standing to the westward, which fired a gun to leeward, and hailing the Amazon in English, ordered her to bring to, or he would fire into her, being of superior force;—upon which finding herself seemingly between the fire of two enemies, the Amazon carried sail, passing the snow, which appeared to be a Spanish galleon. The ship afterwards came fast up upon the Amazon's starboard

quarter, and ordered her to send her boat on board, damning the captain for a shifting rascal, and threatening that he would sink her if he did not immediately comply ;—to which matter the Amazon replied, that he had the honour of belonging to the crown of Britain, and if the other was an enemy, to begin as soon as he pleased ;—after which the ship fired a broadside from her larboard, which was immediately returned from the starboard of the Amazon. The enemy then bore away with the intent of raking her, but the Amazon wearing first gave her two broadsides with her larboard guns,—and a very close action ensued, which continued three glasses, after which the enemy was obliged to get before the wind, towing the wreck of her mizen-mast after her, which was shot away by the board ; the Amazon's guns reached her for two broadsides, but could not give chase, her rigging and sails being all shot to pieces, and no braces left to command the yards ; They could plainly perceive several of her ports driven into one, and a short time before daybreak they put up lights, though immediately after it there was not the least appearance of her ;—from which circumstance it is not improbable that she may have sunk. From the flash of the Amazon's guns it was known that the enemy mounted 22 guns, as she shewed eleven ports on her main decks, and her weight of metal is also known with certainty from some of her shot, which were got on the Amazon's deck, and found to be six pound ball. The highest compliment that can be paid to the bravery of the crew, in engaging a vessel of such superior force, and in supporting the action with such success for an hour and a half, is a mere narrative of facts."

A list of killed and wounded :

William Tippet, third lieutenant; Charles Moore, Henry Gribben, Henry McKaughly, James McKeys—killed.

William Welsh, Samuel McCalley, George McBlean, William Thompson James McCoullam, George Cook, William Hewit, James McGourfen, William Wilson—wounded.

(To be continued.)

Songs on the French Revolution.

The following is a copy of a rare old Belfast ballad, with a facsimile title page.

JOHN S. CRONE.

SONGS ON THE

FRENCH REVOLUTION.

That took place at Paris, 14th July, 1789:

Sung at the *Celebration* thereof at BELFAST on

Saturday, 14th July, 1792.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED

FOUR OTHER SONGS.

BELFAST: Printed in the year 1792.

A New Song on the French Revolution.

Gallia bur her vile shackles on this glorious day,
  And we dare to applaud her great deed ;
We dare to exult in a Tyrant's lost sway,
  And rejoice that a Nation is freed ;
For this we assemble, regardless of those
  Who wish to enslave the Free Mind ;
Our foes, we are conscious are Liberty's foes,
  And our friends are the friends of Mankind.

If Angels e'er learn from the mansions above
  The affairs of our Planet to scan,
They could not this wond'rous event but approve
  As the noblest exertion of Man ;
An exertion which bids servile Nations arise
  And enjoy what the Deity gave ;
To be free is a duty man owes the All-wise,
  And he sins, who is tamely a Slave.

Oppression's dark vapours had shrouded the land,
  And the image of God was defaced ;
Man trembled and crouched at his Lordling's command,
  And the foot which had spurned him embraced.
But at length, the horizon by Learning's high rays
  And Columbia's strong tempest was cleared,
Light poured o'er the Nation in one brilliant blaze ;
  Man saw—and his chains disappeared.

Where millions of bayonets shield her from harm,
  'Mong our neighbours, now, Liberty dwells ;
She smiles unappalled at each foreign alarm,
  And her smile all that's gloomy dispels.
On the rock of Man's Right she a fortress has planned,
  Which through many a bright age shall endure,
Like a Crag midst the waves, undisturbed shall it stand,
  And preserve Heaven's Blessing secure.

With electrical force, thro' the nations around,
  Her fire may dear Liberty dart ;
'Mong the Sons of the North, may its glow soon be found,
  May it warm each Iberian heart ;

'Cross the huge snowy Alps to a region once dear,
  May the soul-lifting influence be hurled ;
May its radiance the whole Human Family cheer,
  And may Tyrants be banished the world.

A New Song Addressed
TO ENGLISHMEN.

When exultant we tell how our fathers of yore,
  Their wrongs and oppressions were wont to redress,
How firmly they waded through rivers of gore
  And forced from proud despots the rights we possess ;
When we boast of our own revolution and laws,
  Yet reprobate men who have spurned base controul,
We may show an acquaintance with Liberty's cause,
  But we strongly evince a contraction of soul.

We deem ourselves lodged under Liberty's tree,
  Where the whole human race might with comfort recline ;
We boast of the blessing—and Britons shall we
  At the joyous approach of our neighbours repine ?
Forbid it—ye offspring of men who were tried ;
  Of men,—who unshackled both body and mind,
Forbid it—and learn ere you dare to deride
  That the cause of the French is the cause of mankind !

How can *we* if our sires be entitled to praise
  For boldly refusing unauthorised sway,
How can we with aversion on Liberty gaze,
  How can we be offended if Tyrants decay.
Has Jehovah selected a new chosen race
  And on them, and them only, is freedom bestowed ?
If not—how can Gallic resistance be base
  And the fate of a James show the finger of God ?

When the orbs of the sightless receive the bright day,
  Shall those who have vision presume to complain ?
Shall men saved from shipwreck with anguish survey
  Their fellows preserved from the merciless main ?
How degrading the thought ! yet the sons of this isle
  Who deem themselves nurtured at Liberty's board
Evince a malignity equally vile
  In wishing thy shackles, O ! Gallia, restored.

When the will of a driv'ler held millions in chains
  Did we pity them?—no—we despised them as slaves,
And now not a trace of debasement remains,
  We brand the brave people as maniacs and slaves.
Thus, servile or free, we the French have reviled,
  Our own half-formed system we proudly commend,
We boast our wise laws—tho' our code is defiled
  With statutes, that Tyrants would blush to defend.

O! spurn the mean prejudice, Britons, and say,
  If our Fathers were right how can Frenchmen be wrong?
The will of oppressors both scorned to obey
  And asserted those rights which to mortals belong.
Yet the struggles of these are to infamy hurled,
  While the actions of those we with triumph rehearse,
But the bright orb of reason now peeps on the world,
  And the thick clouds of prejudice soon shall disperse.

Yes! soon shall these truths far and wide be conveyed,
  Spite of Pindar's quaint prattle and Burke's raving din,
That the thrones of *true* Kings by the PEOPLE are made,
  And when kings become tyrants—submission is sin.
That the power of oppressors can ne'er be of Heaven,
  A Being all-just—cannot justice despise,
A Being all-just—EQUAL RIGHTS must have given,
  And who robs man of these must offend the All-wise.

Third SONG on the
FRENCH REVOLUTION.

Tune—*Poor Jack.*

While Tyranny marshals his minions around
  And bids his fierce legions advance,
Fair Freedom—the hopes of thy sons to confound,
  To restore his old Empire in France.

What friend among men to the Rights of Mankind,
  But is fired with resentment to see
The Satraps of pride and oppression combined
  To prevent a great Land's being free?

Europe's fate on the contest's decision depends—
  Most important its issue will be—
For should France *be subdued—Europe's liberty ends*,
  If she *triumphs*—THE WORLD WILL BE FREE!

Then let every true Patriot unite in her cause,
  A cause of such moment to Man;
Let all whose souls spurn at tyrannical laws,
  Send her all the assistance they can.

May the spirit of Sparta her armies inspire,
  And the Star of America guide!
May a Washington's wisdom—a Mirabeau's fire
  In her camps and her councils preside!

May her sons' fatal discord no longer divide,
  'Mong her chiefs no dark traitors be found,
But may they *United* resist the rough tide
  Till their toils be with victory crowned.

And at length when sweet peace from her sphere shall descend,
  When the fiends of oppression have fled,
Immortal renown shall those Heroes attend
  Who for Freedom fought—conquered—and bled.

Blazon high, then their deeds shall swell History's page,
  And adorn lofty Poetry's lays,
While the mem'ry of Tyrants—the curse of their age,
  In oblivion's dark Bastile decays.

The Rev. Samuel Barber, a.m., and the Rathfriland Volunteers.

By Andrew Morrow, J.P.

(Continued from vol. xv., part 1, page 35.)

AT a meeting of synod held at Lurgan, 29th June, 1790, the following were nominated for the moderator's chair:—revs. Bankhead, Barber, Birch, Montgomery, Denham, Stitt, dr. Dickson and Shaw.

"The roll was called and Barber chosen." Next year (1791) he preached at Lurgan the synodical sermon [Rev. xviii. 20], reckoning the [1] Nicene council as the beginning of the reign of antichrist, and the French revolution as the omen of its fall. "This sermon appears to have been published, but was also circulated in manuscript form." Barber was considered a most eloquent preacher, and Montgomery assigned to him "a singularly vigorous mind, a cultivated taste, a ready wit, a fluent elocution, a firm purpose, an unsullied character, and a most courteous demeanour." Many stories are told concerning his eloquence and wit: the following are worth recording:—

On one occasion he had preached rather longer than usual, and, in the midst of an outburst of eloquence, "mad Molly"—a local character, who usually sat on the pulpit steps—rushed up, and, throwing her arms around him, shouted, "stap! stap! mr. Barber, if you go on like this you'll kill yersel."

A small dog often followed Barber to the pulpit, and one day it put its paws on the bible, and, looking down at the congregation, yawned. The joke went round that mr. Barber's eloquence had [2] converted the dog, which was owned by a catholic neighbour and friend of the preacher.

It is told that on one occasion a "wean" was brought up for baptism, and on being asked the name, the father said, "bide a wee." Barber put

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[1] If a copy of this sermon was forthcoming, it would show what Barber's theological opinions were.—*A. M.*

[2] Most likely the dog was tired. Sermons were not delivered in twenty minutes in those days.—*A. M.*

the question several times, and still from the confused father came the answer, "bide a wee." Barber proceeded, "Bide-a-wee, I baptise thee"—etc.

He was greatly respected by the catholics of the district, who had implicit confidence in him. There is a story told that one year, owing to heavy rains, the oat crop was rotting in the stook towards the end of October. Friday and Saturday brought "fine dryin" and on Sunday it was still better. The congregation noticed Barber looking out of the window very often towards the end of his sermon. Then he seemed inspired with renewed eloquence, and began his subject afresh. His hearers "gaunted and tholed," and finally, when dismissed towards 4-30, they found all Barber's grain in his stackyard. The catholic population having assembled after mass and carted it in whilst he detained his own people at meeting.

He threw himself heart and soul into the political struggles of his time, and "in 1790 took a leading part in the Down election of that year, which returned Robert Stewart (afterwards lord Castlereagh) in the presbyterian interest, after a contest of 69 days." The following were the number of votes:—

ARTHUR HILL,	3,534.
ROBERT STEWART,	3,114.
EDMUND WARD,	2,968.
GEORGE MATTHEWS,	2,223.

"On the return of Robert Stewart there were great rejoicings in several towns of the county of Down," and as the "champion of independence he was splendidly entertained in Belfast."—[KNOX].

About this period the Rathfriland district was in a state of civil war, and party fights were frequent between the defenders (catholics) and the peep-o'-day boys (protestants). Numbers were killed on both sides, and often innocent people. I have heard many stories of these fights: the following will illustrate the fierce hatred existing:—

The defenders raided Ballynagappoge, and on coming to a farm-house belonging to a peep-o'-day boy, finding only an unfortunate collie dog at home, they drowned him in a churn of buttermilk and fired the premises.

In or about the same townland lived Rabin M——, who constituted himself a watchman on the towers of the protestant Zion. He was proceeding with others over Banfield height to attack, when a bullet raised the dust, at which some of his men offered to retreat. Turning, he shouted at them, "its an Irish bullet, it will dae ye nae herm; come on to hell out o' that."

It is told that regularly each evening, before retiring, he fired a shot into Islandmoyle (defenders' quarter), saying, "tack that, Isle-a-moyle; its lang since ye's disarved it." Then he reloaded; and when the door was closed the following conversation was often over-heard:—

"Rabin dear, is the gun cherged?"

"Yis."

"An' the dures barret?"

"Yis."

"Are ye in bed, Betty dawdter?"

"Yis."

"Betty dawdter, we'll hae a word o' prayer and jist commit ower selves tae Providence."

"Good Laurd, strangle the pope, grine him intil powder, tass him up in the air, so that his dust may fall in the eyes o' the Irish folk, that they nae come tae kill us till the day o' judgment. Amen."

Barber was highly instrumental in getting up the following meeting, at which a sum of £522 1s. 3d. was subscribed, he contributing £11 7s 6d.:—

"At a numerous meeting held pursuant to public notice, in the market-house of Rathfriland, on Wednesday, the 9th day of May, 1792.

Robert Ross Rowan in the chair."

"That we have seen with regret and concern, contentions and quarrels subsist in this town and neighbourhood, between two parties known by the description of 'break-of-day boys' and 'defenders.' Such riotous proceedings are subversive of the industry and morality of the country, and of every principle on which its prosperity and well-being depend; and if not checked will lead to a police establishment which will be burthensome and ruinous to the country."

"Resolved.—That a subscription be entered into by the general inhabitants of this town and vicinity, to raise a sufficient sum to defray and carry on prosecutions from time to time against all and every offender (who may violate or outrage the laws of the land) of every religious persuasion."—[*Northern Star*, 29th May, 1792.]

Copy of a letter from rev. Samuel Barber, dated Rathfriland, 12th May, 1792:—

"The unhappy disturbances that have so long subsisted in this neighbourhood, broke farther with the utmost fury on Saturday, the 6th inst. On Monday a vast quantity of powder and ball was expended, and unhappily some young men were killed, and the country is in a great degree deserted. On Tuesday an army was assembled, consisting of many thousands, and everything ready for blood and carnage. I rode with some gentlemen to the army of those who stile themselves 'defenders.' I found them marching; they immediately halted, a treaty commenced, and articles of agreement were signed by a few of both parties, to forgive and forget all past injuries and insults, and to be good friends in future. I carried the articles to Rathfriland, read them publicly—three cheers were given, and the parties immediately went to their homes without doing any injury whatever, and since that time

all is quite. You may assure the public, by making any use of this letter you please, that we will henceforth be as remarkable for peace and good order as we have lately been for licentiousness."—[From *The National Journal*, 1792.]

Unfortunately, the friendship did not last, and we find by the following extract from the diary of Theobald Wolfe Tone that the district was in a most disturbed condition:—

"July, 1792, 17th.—Waked by Neilson to see Gog and other catholics before they set off. Go to the inn. Much conversation about the 'peep-of-day boys' and 'defenders.' My letter in the *Northern Star* approved of. Proposed by Neilson, that the catholics should go by Rathfriland, where the disturbances are, and meet some of the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, in order to try if anything can be done to restore peace. He offers, and in that case to go himself, and all parties request me to go too. Hope our journey may do some good, as the restoration of tranquility is to *us* of *the last* importance."

"Set off and arrive at mr. Lowry's, near Rathfriland; received with great politeness and hospitality. Supper; sit up late as usual. Bed at half-past one."

The Neilson referred to was—"Samuel Neilson," third son of the rev. Alexander Neilson, presbyterian minister of Ballyroney, near Rathfriland, his mother was Agnes, daughter of Samuel Carson, who, by her first husband, William Finlay, of Knockagh, had one daughter, Mary, who, on the 29th of July, 1746, married William Bigger, of Biggerstown.

When Neilson was about sixteen years of age he became an apprentice to his elder brother, John, a woollen-draper in Belfast. He was founder of the first society of united Irishmen in Belfast (14th October, 1791), and he was present at the great convention held in Dungannon on the 15th February, 1793, in which all Ulster was represented. He founded and owned the *Northern Star*. He was arrested on 16th September, 1796, and removed to Dublin, but was released on the 22nd February, 1798. Being again arrested, he was sent to Fort George. After a confinement of more than four years without ever being tried, Neilson was at last, on the 19th March, 1802, released on condition of his emigration to America. He died at Poughkeepsie on the 29th August, 1803, A public monument was raised to his memory. Portraits of him are at Ardrigh, Belfast.

Rev. Alexander Neilson, of Ballyroney, died in 1782. Quite recently his tombstone has been discovered, which was lying face down in Ballyroney meeting-house green. It has now been restored to its proper place through the exertions of the editor of this journal (see page 142, vol. xiv).

Alexander Lowry, Linen Hill, Rathfriland, was, in 1792, captain of the Ballyroney volunteers 1st company. This corps, 50 strong, in red uniform, took part in the review held at Rathfriland on the 19th October, 1792.

Lowry became a member of the united Irish society, and from the *Annals of Ulster* I find he attended a meeting of Down and Antrim colonels held at Randalstown in 1797. The meeting broke up, and Lowry, Tennant, and Teeling, seeing their plans frustrated, and alarmed least they should be arrested, fled to Hamburg.

On the Irish expedition being given up by the French government, Lowry went to America.

About 1806 he obtained leave to return home. The vessel in which he took passage was driven into a port in Norway, where he married a young woman, whom he brought with him to Ireland. He[1] died a few days after his arrival.

1792, 18th. Wolfe Tone goes on to say—

"Rise and set off with Neilson and young Lowry to Rathfriland. In about an hour the catholics arrive from Downpatrick. Meet mr. Tighe, the parson; Sam Barber, the dissenting minister; mr. Derry,[2] the priest, and about eighteen gentlemen of the neighbourhood."

"Agreed on all hands that the protestants were the aggressors. Several have been killed on both sides. Great offence taken at the catholics marching about in military array, and firing shots at unreasonable times. The catholics certainly wrong in that, and must, if possible, be stopped. The majority think that if that were accomplished the disturbances would soon die away. Some bigots think that their arms should be taken from the catholics. God forbid! besides, the thing is in its nature impossible. Captain Rowan tells one or two swinging lies. First, that information has been lodged with the commissioners of the revenue that a ship laden with arms was expected in a bay at the back of Mourne, and was to be escorted by a French frigate; and that these arms were intended for the catholics. Also, that orders had been sent to every port in the kingdom to seize and detain all arms imported until further orders. Mr. Hutton breaks out in a rage. As to the French sending over a ship load of arms, all the world knows that, at this moment, they are in the last distress for arms themselves, and buying them from England at any price. As to the other story of the orders being sent to the ports, it was exactly like one of the tricks of our infamous government, who are notoriously spreading the vilest calumnies and falsehood to exasperate the two sects against each other. Mr. Hutton changes the discourse back to the business of the meeting. Proposes that the catholics shall agree to desist from parading in bodies and firing, and the dissenters shall declare that they will

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[1] I would be glad to know where Lowry was buried.—*A. M.*

[2] Parish priest of Clonduff, distinguished as an educationalist. Dr. Edmund Derry, in 1802, succeeded rev. dr. Lennon as bishop of Dromore. Derry, like Barber, sought to bring the people together.—*A. M.*

maintain the peace of the country against all who shall transgress, without distinction of party or religion."

"An amendment, proposed by Neilson, that this declaration should be made by the volunteers. The idea unanimously approved, and three officers then present—captain A. Lowry, captain Cowen, and captain Barber—engage for their respective companies. A refractory priest, of the name of Fitzsimmons, much blamed: the catholics engage to have him removed. They, likewise, propose to have a pastoral letter from their bishop and a circular one from the committee, to be read in every chapel, recommending peace and good order. Earl Annesley much to blame in this business."

A few days later, Barber found it necessary to call out the Ballyroney volunteers to keep the factions separate.

In this connection, David Stranaghan, of Drumdreenagh, aged 87, whose father was present, and whose grandfather signed the Rathfriland volunteer roll, told me the following story:—

Captain Creely stationed his men in fours between the contending parties. Bullets commenced to fly, at which a cautious Ballyroney man turned to his comrade and said:—

"Come awa, Rabin Kerr, come awa; we might drap an erm or a leg here, and mine ye, there's nae pension."

In the following August, Tone decides to visit Rathfriland again, and writes as follows:—

1792,
11th Aug. "Breakfast at O'Hanlon's. Hear that mr. Barber is of opinion that we ought not to go to Rathfriland, and has desired some one to write us word so to Dublin. It is surmised that his reason is, lest we might be insulted by some of the bigots in that town. Cannot help it: what must be, must be, and we must go to Rathfriland. Buy powder and ball, and load our pistols, for fear of accidents, My balls too little; damn it! Afraid of captain Swan, who is a bloody peep-of-day boy."

"Hear just now that if we go to Rathfriland we shall be houghed. This information we have from mr. O'Neill, of Cabra; cowardly enough, but dare say he heard it."

"Set off for mr. O'Neill's, of Banvale, on our way for Rathfriland, arrive at length at that flourishing seat of liberality and public virtue. I fear thee, O Rathfriland, lest that thy girls with spits, and boys with stones,[1] in puny battle slay me."

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[1] There is a couplet used by school children in the Rathfriland district to this day, as follows:—

Spits and stones may break my bones,
But names can never hurt me.

—*A. M.*

"Mr. O'Neill returns with the news that Barber is out, all of a piece."

"Leave Rathfriland in great force, the cavalry in front. See about 150 peep-of day boys exercising within a quarter of a mile of the town. Suppose if we had attempted to lie in the town we should have had a battle."

The O'Neill referred to was John O'Neill of Banvale, Hilltown, co. Down. The following extract from the *Northern Star* of 23rd March, 1795, shows the respect in which he was held by his co-religionists :—

"At a meeting of the catholics of the county of Down, held at Downpatrick, on Wednesday, March 18th, 1795. John O'Neill in the chair.

The following resolutions were unanimously agreed to :—

Resolved that we approve of the resolution of the catholics of Dublin, on the 27th of February last, and adopt them as perfectly expressive of our sentiments.

Resolved, that we highly approve of their address to our gracious soverign, and of that presented by them to his excellency earl Fitzwilliam, the well chosen representative of majesty, whose removal from the government of this kingdom, at this momentous period, we hear of with deepest regret, as his virtues and patriotism promised to establish the real happiness of Ireland, by an union of its people.

Resolved, that the choice made by them of the baron Hussey, Edward Byrne, and John Keogh to present their address to our beloved soverign meets with our fullest approbation, conscious that the honourable and important truth was confided to men of known abilities, patriotic zeal and integrity.

Resolved, that full of confidence in the justice and goodness of our beloved soverign, and sincerely grateful for the benefits already conferred on us, we hope that the father of his people will be graciously pleased to extend the full blessings of our excellent constitution to his catholic subjects of Ireland, whose loyalty has been unshaken in times most trying and inviolate under persecution too long continued.

Resolved, that we return our sincere thanks to our protestant fellow subjects who, superior to religious prejudices, became advocates of catholic emancipation, but especially to the worthy inhabitants of Belfast, who show a liberality of sentiment too long unknown in this country (but which ought to be congenial to all Irishmen), first gave generous example by declaring for a measure intimately connected with the peace, the happiness, and the prosperity of Ireland."

Signed by order of the meeting,

THOMAS SAVAGE, secretary.

Of course this sort of stupid effusive expressions of "loyalty" bore no fruit, and deceived no one. George III. had no gra for catholic emancipation.

John O'Neill was son of Owen O'Neill, of Ballygorian, near Rathfriland, and grandson of Hugh O'Neill, known as Hugh of the standards, who was killed at the battle of Aughrim. His uncle, Niall Og, distinguished himself in the armies of the continent, in France, Italy, and the low countries. A funeral oration delivered over Owen O'Neill appeared in vols. iii. and iv. of this journal. It is said he commanded "*love, affection and respect from the great men and nobles of the country, so that he was an advocate and counsellor among them on the side of every person who had a clear and honest cause to plead.*" Owen O'Neill died on the 27th of September, 1744, and his family were evicted from Ballygorian, because they would not conform to the established faith. They later acquired "a lease of the townlands of Leitrim, Ballymachory, Ballyaughian, and Ballynanny, near Hilltown, which were then direlict, started as bleachers, and stocked those lands with catholic families."

Stuart, in his historical memoirs of the city of Armagh, says, "The O'Nial of Banvale was [1819] alive a few years ago. He was a man of princely aspect, noble deportment, majestic stature, and almost preternatural strength. In him was exhibited a lively instance of the mutability of fortune, and the unstability of human greatness. This representative of an illustrious branch of the noble family of O'Nial, from which have descended many of the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, was the unambitious proprietor of a bleach-green. Glory did not gild his name, but contentment was the inmate of his cot, and happiness his companion through life."

Knox, in his history of Down, says:—

"John and Felix O'Neill, supposed to have been the last male descendants of the powerful sept of Tirowen, are interred in the parish burying ground" of Clonduff. The O'Neill tomb in old Clonduff was restored by the editor of this journal when preserving the Maginnes monument.

John Toman, j.p., Rathfriland, and Hugh H. Martin, Banvale, Hilltown, kindly sent me the following information:—

John O'Neill died at Banvale, Hilltown, on the 15th of February, 1809. He was interred in old Clonduff churchyard, in the townland of Ballyaughian. His grave and tombstone are against the east gable of the old church, and alongside that of captain Maginnes, of Rathfriland.

His tombstone bears the following inscription:—

"Here lies John O'Neill, of Banvale, The upright christian scholar and the accomplished gentleman, whose voluntary wish was to distribute his own Christian principal, liberal charity and forgiveness, among the disconsolate classes and his own fellow-citizens. To receive the promise accompanied of

such labours; he was called away from the O'Neills on the 15th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1809, aged 80 years."

He was a man of excellent disposition, kind and generous to the poor, by whom he was greatly beloved.

He was considerably over six feet in height, and of great strength.

It is related that on one occasion he was in the village blacksmith's forge (Hilltown) breaking bars of iron and horse shoes with his hands—a feat of strength for which he was noted. A tramp entered and challenged him to break a half-crown in two with his fingers and thumb. O'Neill failed, the tramp broke the coin with ease.

A man named O'Neill visited the district some 15 years ago, alleging he was claimant to a large legacy, left by a colonel O'Neill of the Spanish army. While at Hilltown he made every effort to obtain a photo of John O'Neill. The photo, he said, would help to establish his claim, as he understood he bore a great resemblance to John O'Neill.

He interviewed a number of old residents, but none of them had ever seen or heard of a portrait of John O'Neill.

(To be continued.)

Rev. Arthur M'Mahon.

By Rev. David Stewart, B.A., Belfast.

THE story of the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon, as set forth in the last issue of the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, is not very agreeable reading to those who value principle and honour. It is much less so to that portion of readers which is able to challenge many statements in the article, and which dissents from the conclusion that M'Mahon was "a '98 informer." It is stated—"M'Mahon was a complex character. The above extracts put him down as a county Down man, and a tutor in the Londonderry family. The latter statement looks ominous and may explain his later actions. Lord Castlereagh corrupted all about him; he knew no honour, so Arthur M'Mahon's fall may have come about that way." It may have, or it may not have, or he may not have fallen at all. Let us examine the statements. It is on record that M'Mahon was tutor to Lord Castlereagh prior to 1789, in which year he was ordained as minister of the congregation at Kilrea. At that date Lord Castlereagh was only a youth of twenty summers, a co-religionist of M'Mahon, and a politician whose principles were after even Dr. Wm. Steel Dickson's own heart. Writing of him as he appeared in 1790, the latter speaks of his "strong expressions of attachment to the liberty of his country, of ardour for reform, and solemn declarations, that, if returned to parliament, he would use all his efforts to attain it—nay, as some averred, by expressions of patriotism much stronger." It cannot be maintained that it was a youth with such a character as this who wielded an influence over his senior and tutor, Arthur M'Mahon, which took effect years afterwards and subverted his integrity. But perhaps the writer thinks that it was in those later years, when Lord Castlereagh was lured by ambition to change the religion and politics of his family, that his influence became destructive of M'Mahon's principles. The writer says—"Lord Castlereagh corrupted all about him." Now, M'Mahon removed from Kilrea to Holywood in October, 1794, and here he was within reach of Lord Castlereagh, but it has yet to be shown that he ever came much in

contact with his Lordship. At any rate, the statement is too sweeping, for there were Presbyterian ministers in contact with Lord Castlereagh whom he was not able to corrupt, and who remained very loyal to their principles. The reader will readily recall to mind the Rev. James Porter, of Greyabbey, and the Rev. Dr. Wm. Steel Dickson, of Portaferry. [1]

Fitzpatrick ("Secret Service under Pitt") is the chief authority in regard to M'Mahon. He states—"Twelve Presbyterian ministers were concerned in the rebellion. . . It is to be feared that one of the twelve became a Judas." "This was Arthur M'Mahon. . . He had been an early ally of Samuel Turner, of Newry, the most abandoned of all the informers of this period." Does the editor mean that M'Mahon was "an early ally" in treachery? If he does—and we think his words bear that interpretation—he goes further in charging M'Mahon with duplicity than his mentor would dare to go.[2] Fitzpatrick states "that it was not until *after* the collapse of the rebellion, and want stared him in the face, that he sold his information." The writer has overlooked that other view of the case where M'Mahon's intimacy with Turner might be construed to his honour rather than to his dishonour. Was it not Turner's business as an informer to keep in close touch with those who were most prominent in the cause he wished to betray? If this is so, Turner's close connection with M'Mahon may be a compliment to the consistency and zeal of the latter.

Fitzpatrick in introducing M'Mahon's case says—"*It is to be feared* that one of the twelve became a Judas." Now the very inaccuracies which surround this statement of his suspicion suggest that even Fitzpatrick was sometimes guilty of hasty and immature conclusions. In naming the twelve ministers he gives one of them as the "Rev. *William* Porter", another as "Glardy", and states that "three were executed; Porter, Stevelly, and Warwick." We have seen authentic reports of the execution of the first and last, but never of the second.

Further on he introduces a letter signed "Berthier" with these words, "The future king replied." In quoting him the editor has allowed the error to go unquestioned, though we would like to be informed as to when or where Berthier obtained a kingdom. *

But to resume at Fitzpatrick's words, "It is to be feared." Speaking of Lewins's dealings with M'Mahon, after the latter had fled to the Continent, Fitzpatrick says, "At this time *we think* Lewins suspected M'Mahon, and

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[1] Also the way they suffered for their rectitude.—Ed.

[2] No such interpretation was intended.—Ed.

* Berthier, we regret to say, became only a prince.—Ed.

Lewins was incorruptible. *What reason he had for doing so we cannot as yet trace.*" Will any one say that these remarks add anything that goes to prove M'Mahon guilty of treachery? After the Lewins incident five years elapsed before M'Mahon met Myles Byrne, a patriot as deserving as Lewins was of the title "incorruptible." During this period there was opportunity for M'Mahon to discover his treachery if he was guilty, and for Lewins's suspicions of him, if he had any, to be whispered abroad. And yet in 1803 Byrne had no suspicion of him, nor in 1804, when he speaks of M'Mahon as amongst his "best friends and comrades—we were united and happy." As Fitzpatrick says, "Not one word is dropped to the prejudice of M'Mahon." The editor also states, "We don't find M'Mahon's name in any secret service list." Surely this is testimony in his favour. But the fact that "Turner, his old ally, often reports his actions to the government," is mentioned in a spirit of doubt. Should we not give the accused the benefit of the doubt, especially when we remember that Fitzpatrick believed him honest down till the time when he was forced to flee from Ireland?

We have now to deal with the correspondence of Bourrienne, Berthier, and Bernadotte, which, after all, is the chief evidence against the good name of Arthur M'Mahon. The letters as set forth by Fitzpatrick in his "Secret Service under Pitt" are fully quoted by the editor. It is endeavoured to prove from them that Arthur M'Mahon was a paid spy in the service of the French and English governments. This chapter of Fitzpatrick's book had long given offence to one who was directly related to Arthur M'Mahon, and who devoted part of the leisure of his later life in visiting this country and vindicating the character of his venerable ancestor. This was Lieutenant-General M'Mahon of the United States army, grandson of the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon. General M'Mahon died some years ago, but some time before his death he sent notes of his researches to relatives in this country. A copy of these were in possession of the present writer before he saw the article on Arthur M'Mahon in the *U.J.A.*, and are now given below. These notes contain some arguments that require answering before we are willing to believe that the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon was a spy ready to sell himself to the highest bidder. They also contain some details that help to fill up the story of M'Mahon's life, and in doing so show us that the curtain did not fall so early as we are led to imagine, and give us no suggestion of "an ignominious death." Quite the contrary.

We would draw attention to the last paragraph in General M'Mahon's notes. This indicates that he had corresponded with Fitzpatrick, and had pointed out that the latter's reasons were not weighty enough to make Arthur M'Mahon the subject of scorn. Fitzpatrick evidently was convinced that some of his observations about M'Mahon were incorrect and unjust. He did

not live to issue a second edition of his book, and so his strictures still remain as he wrote them.

But if those who follow Fitzpatrick in this matter are satisfied that General M'Mahon has reported him correctly, they must in justice hasten to redeem the honour of the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon.

NOTES ON THE REV. ARTHUR M'MAHON.

By his Grandson, Lieut-General M'Mahon.

The Rev. Arthur M'Mahon was the son of Alexander M'Mahon, of Donanelley, of the parish of Inch, Downpatrick, County Down. Arthur M'Mahon was appointed to the pastoral charge of the Presbyterian Church at Kilrea in 1789, and in 1794 was transferred to that of Holywood. Unfortunately, the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon joined the United Irishmen, and this political body, beginning with constitutional efforts for legitimate reform, gradually adopted revolutionary methods. The last meeting of the United Irishmen which Arthur M'Mahon attended was held at Randalstown, on or about the 18th of June, 1797. The proceedings of this meeting were reported to Government by a spy named Hughes, who was present at the meeting.* Timely information was given to the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon that his immediate arrest was contemplated, and he fled *via* Bangor (co. Down) and Scotland to England. He did not remain long in London, and, from a manuscript in the handwriting of his wife, it appears that he left Dover on the 8th July, 1797.

Wolfe Tone in his diary, under date first of February, 1798, mentions that Arthur M'Mahon was then residing in Paris. According to a spy, writing from Hamburg, M'Mahon was in the spring of 1798 appointed colonel and aide-de-camp to Napper Tandy; but it is certain that he did not accompany Tandy in his disastrous expedition. According to another spy, "O," M'Mahon, some time in September, 1798, went out in a small corvette of eight guns to reconnoitre the Irish coast and fire signals, "but the ship sprang a leak, was chased by English cruisers, and had to put back to Flushing."

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* Hughes did not become a spy until the October following.—Ed.

In November, 1803, Napoleon signed the decree for the formation of the Irish Legion. Arthur M'Mahon received a commission in this corps, probably in the spring of 1805, and obtained promotion to the rank of captain prior to the fall of Flushing in 1809. He marched with the Legion to that town in September, 1807, and Myles Byrne mentions interesting details of Arthur M'Mahon's successful efforts to save his landlady and her daughter during the disastrous flood of 1808, caused by the bursting of a dam.

When Flushing capitulated to the English on the 16th August, 1809, Captain Arthur M'Mahon was made prisoner of war, and remained in England until the fall of Napoleon in April, 1814, when the French prisoners were released, "no doubt," he adds, "for fear of reprisal on the part of the French government, had any violence been offered to them."

Captain Arthur M'Mahon returned to France in May, 1814. He was given five years' pay in arrears, and was ordered to join the 3me regiment Etranger, then stationed at Montreuil sur Mer. He was in the habit of corresponding with his sister, but no letter was received from him of later date than the 7th February, 1815. Napoleon landed on his escape from Elba, on the first of March of that year, and his (M'Mahon's) family believe that Arthur M'Mahon fell at Ligny or Waterloo.

Circumstances rather than taste seem to have forced M'Mahon to become a soldier. One of the spies writing to the British government in 1798 says that "M'Mahon has about £300 stg., property remitted to him by Charles Rankin of Belfast; this he means to employ in buying a farm." And in his last letter to his sister in 1815 he wrote, "On my return to this country (France), I did not mean to join the army, but, on applying for my arrears, was ordered to my corps which is in garrison here." It may also be mentioned in passing that he was not an admirer of the French revolution or of Napoleon. The spy, above alluded to, wrote in 1798 that M'Mahon was "tired of politics, especially those of France; and in his last letter to his sister M'Mahon wrote, "if you consider him (Napoleon) and the persons who conducted the French revolution to its end as Anti-Christ you will be very nearly right."

Some unfortunate remarks by Marshal Berthier, then war minister, in a letter written at the close of 1804, and given in Marshal Bourrienne's memoirs, have led some authors to form the impression that Arthur M'Mahon was a spy. Berthier's words are as follow:—"I have the honour to inform you, Marshal, that two Irishmen residing in Hamburg, MM. Durnin and M'Mahon, who had been liberally rewarded by the English government for coming to France to act as spies on the Irish refugees and views of the French government, have offered their services to assist the designs of France in the cause of the United Irishmen."

Many cogent reasons could be adduced to show that Arthur M'Mahon could not have been a spy in the pay of the English government. Instead of being flush of money he was hard up, and his wife had to sell his landed and house property at a great sacrifice for his support. Spies in the pay of the government represent him as actively engaged making war on England in a corvette of eight guns immediately on his arrival in France, and Quigley, said by the spies to have been the companion of his flight from London, who was sent back to England by M'Mahon on political business, was captured, and hanged at Maidstone.[1] M'Mahon's acts, according to the spies, were the acts of an enemy, and not those of a paid servant of the English government.

M'Mahon's attainder was never revoked, and it was this unrevoked attainder, as appears from his letters to his family, that prevented his return to his native land. Had he gone to France as a spy this bar would have been subsequently removed, as it was in other cases.[2]

As regards Berthier's assertion, it may be remarked, firstly, that there is no evidence to show that the M'Mahon at Hamburg was Arthur M'Mahon.[3] It appears from the confidential letters of Major Sirr to the Irish government that several M'Mahons (the clan is a large one) were actively engaged in the rebellion of 1798, after the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon's flight in 1797. The man at Hamburg in 1804 may have been one of those men for whom Ireland had grown too hot.

But even if the Hamburg M'Mahon was the Rev. Arthur M'Mahon, it is clear that Berthier merely gave expression to a passing suspicion which did not rest on tangible evidence. At the very time he wrote Hamburg was, and had been for some time, in the military possession of the French. If Berthier had any substantial fact to support the suspicion that M'Mahon was a spy paid by England to disclose "the views of the French government" he would have caused M'Mahon to have been promptly strung up to the nearest tree. The French were not squeamish in those days.

Secondly, If anything had been known to the Minister of War to the detriment of M'Mahon, especially if there had been grounds for believing him to be an English spy, the War Minister would not have given him a commission in the French army. The fact that he did so seems conclusive proof that Berthier did not believe that Arthur M'Mahon was a spy when

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[1] M'Mahon was with Quigley in England.

[2] Samuel Turner was attainted at the time he was a notorious informer, and even imprisoned to cover his trail.—ED.

[3] There are several references in Fitzpatrick to Arthur M'Mahon being in Hamburg. —ED.

he signed his commission. Either the individual Berthier wrote about was a different man, or Berthier's temporary suspicions had, in the meantime, been removed.

The author* of "Secret Service under Pitt" is now satisfied that some observations made in his work on Arthur M'Mahon, based on Berthier's letter, are unjust, and considerable excisions and modifications will be made in his second edition.

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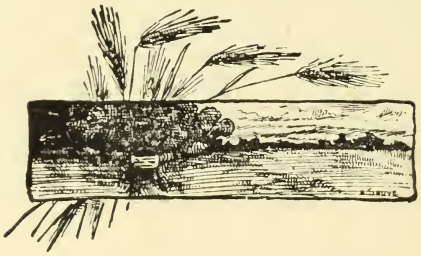
* Fitzpatrick's papers will prove this. We consider him the most reliable and able of the '98 historians, one who never knew what trouble was to get at the truth. It would be most satisfactory to have further proof of M'Mahon's innocence. M'Mahon's defence savours very much of the *Life* of Reynolds the informer by his son.—Ed.



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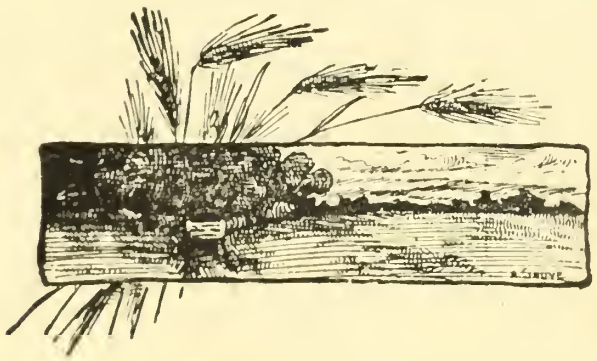

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